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AFGHANISTAN OF THE AFGHANS

AFGHANISTAN
OF THE
AFGHANS

By
SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS
AND A MAP

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PREFACE

I OFFER as much apology in writing this book on Afghanistan as many an English gentleman if he were to write about England. The country of the Afghans, too, is attracting now more than ordinary interest in Europe; especially on account of the labour that has been adopted by King Amanullah Khan for the entire reformation of the country. The work of reconstruction there is a task for a Titan, and the world has already attested to the fact that the young King of Kabul has proved equal to the task.

The importance of this Afghan awakening lies in the fact that King Amanullah is too wise to drench the rather conservative Afghan mind with a sudden and wholesale dose of foreign culture. And above all, he is careful to strain the draught through the muslin-mesh of Afghan customs, carefully adapting each innovation to the peculiar requirements and mentality of his people.

The chapters on folk-lore of the country and those dealing with the progress and policy of the Young Afghans will, I hope, assist the reader to understand how the present-day Afghans are blending the East and the West. In conclusion, I dedicate this result of my fifteen years' labour to my wife, without whose encouragement and devotion my task could not have been successful.

When making this dedication I am happy in the thought that it is being bestowed worthily upon one whose love for Afghanistan is as deep and real as of any at Kabul.

FAQIR SYED IKBAL.

ANGORA,
15th November, 1927.

AFGHANISTAN OF THE AFGHANS

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFGHANISTAN

GEOGRAPHICALLY speaking, I would draw a close comparison between Afghanistan and Scotland. In both lands we find the centre of the country occupied by an agglomeration of mountain ranges shading away into hilly undulations which run down to broad, well-watered plains and wastes like Registan and Dasht-i-Margo. The climate, if rather warmer and more arid, is much the same, and the ancient mode of life in both countries—a clan system, governed by predatory chiefs—has eventuated in similar modern conditions and habits of thought.

Running right along the northern border of Afghanistan for a distance of 330 miles is a river which greatly affects the life of the entire country. This is the Oxus, or, to give it its modern name, the Amu Daria. It has its rise in the Pamir region, and falls into the Sea of Aral after running a course of more than 1,400 miles. It first impinges upon Afghan territory in the region of Wakhan, where travelling in its neighbourhood is of the most arduous description

and is, indeed, dictated by the character of the season in which it is attempted. During the melting of the snows, which begins in May, the river is in flood, and this condition remains until the end of August, so that the best time of the year to explore its banks is from September to March.

Farther to the west, as we advance to the Afghan districts of Rustak and Kataghan, the mountainous character of the country on either bank becomes less marked, many rivers from the Trans-Alai range join the broad stream of the Oxus, which adopts a more sinuous course, and fans out into tributaries. These waters are now entirely diverted to the fields by a process of semi-artificial irrigation or canalisation, by which over four thousand square miles of rich alluvial land are kept in tillage.

The lower reaches of this great river are muddy in the extreme, and, indeed, it has been calculated that nearly sixteen million tons of sedimentary matter constantly pass down to form its vast delta. The tendency of the Oxus is to press continually on its right or east bank, a deflection which is said to be due to the rotation of the earth round its axis from west to east, and the consequence is that the stream has turned from the Kungrad channel eastwards to the Taldik channel and thence to the Yani Su, which at present receives its main discharge. In fact, during the historical period it has twice oscillated between the Caspian and the Aral Seas. Its navigation has been the subject of

much surmise since 1875, when a steamer succeeded in steaming up as far as Nukus. The Russian Government equipped a small flotilla, which still patrols it under Bolshevist auspices. The journey between Patta Hissar and Charjui takes from seven to ten days according to the size of the vessel.

One of the most striking and important districts in the north of the country is the Murghab Valley, close to the frontier. It is a mixture of desert and cultivated land, with here and there a village, and is fertile about the river banks, but extremely unhealthy and the valleys are full of fever, which is unfortunately spread by the wide system of riparian irrigation.

The province of Herat is important because it touches the eastern borders of Persia, and was anciently one of the gateways by which the marvellous civilisation and art of that favoured land entered the Afghan region. Its capacity for production is somewhat restricted, and, although it has been called " Key of India," it is doubtful if it could maintain an army of 150,000 men, as some authorities have stated. But its strategic importance is scarcely to be underrated, for within its borders roads converge from the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara and India, through Kandahar. The Hari Rud river is its Nile, converting portions of what would have been an arid waste into a fruitful paradise. In the hot season it breaks up into long lakes fed by springs and subterranean watercourses. From its mud is built entirely the city of Herat, which

lies in a hollow, and is surrounded by massive walls, and is capped by a vast and grim-looking citadel. The Herati is a peace-loving peasant, very different in temperament from the proud and militant Afghan, and his city is dirty if picturesque.

Between Kandahar and Herat one passes through a rich country. Kandahar is, of course, a point of great strategical importance, and is situated between the Argand and Tarnak rivers on a level and richly cultivated plain, and is strongly walled and defended by double bastions. The principal streets are wide and well built and flanked by trees, and the city is divided into districts which are occupied by the four principal tribes, the population in all amounting to about 50,000. In recent years the place has prospered, as it has had little to disturb the even flow of its career. The wealthiest merchants are Hindus, who carry on a profitable trade with Bombay, via Shikarpur and Karachi, and import silks and other soft goods, leather and metal goods, and export goat's hair, camel's wool, preserved fruits, tobacco, horses and drugs to India and the Persian Gulf. Kandahar is, indeed, the most important trade centre in Afghanistan, and its customs and dues alone equal the revenue of the entire province. The climate is delightful in spring and winter, but in summer is almost unbearably warm, owing to the heat which radiates from the sandhills close to the city.

Westwards of the Kandahar region is that

of Seistan, rich in political interest. Topographically it belongs to the watershed of Afghanistan, and its widespread area, situated on the borders of Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan, is drained by the Hamun lake, which is sometimes quite dry, at others an inland sea nearly a hundred miles long. Seistan has been divided into Seistan Proper and Outer Seistan, the former of which may be called Persian Seistan and the latter Afghan Seistan. Outer Seistan comprises the country along the right bank of the river Helmund from its mouth on the north to Rudbar in the south. The Helmund was made the frontier between Persia and Afghanistan in 1872, but since then it has changed its course, so that inextricable confusion has arisen. The Afghans, indeed, gained by the alteration in the river bed, and claimed that it formed the frontier.

The entire existence of Seistan depends upon irrigation, and, indeed, the canals which branch off from the Helmund throughout a great part of the area antedate the Persian occupation. Provisions are cheap, wheat and barley are easily to be procured, and sheep and oxen are abundant.

The province of Kabul is very mountainous, but contains a large proportion of arable land, especially near the bases of the hills. Wheat and barley are the chief products, and constitute the staple food even of the poorest classes. But such grain as is grown does not suffice for the wants of the community, and cereals and rice

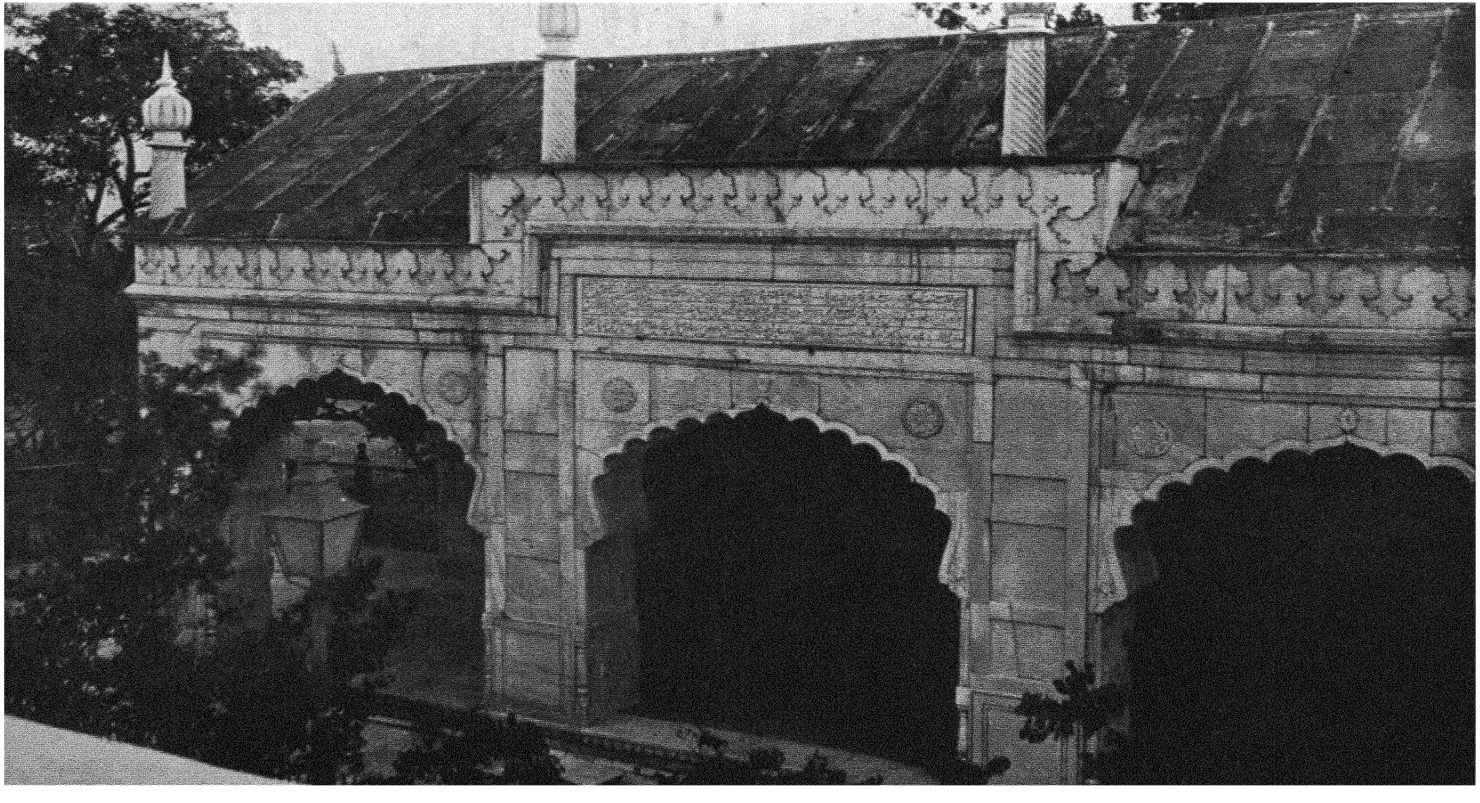
have to be imported from Jelallabad and Upper Bangash. The Butkhak district is perhaps the most highly developed, agriculturally speaking, and a great deal of fruit is grown. During the summer a large proportion of the population dwell in tents. Cattle, camels, mules and horses are largely bred and traded to Turkestan, India and Khorassan.

The province of Badakhshan, in the extreme east of Afghanistan, is made up of lofty mountain ranges and deep rugged valleys, where there is little agriculture. The people are for the most part Tajiks. In winter the cold is severe, the mountain passes being blocked by snow and the rivers frozen over. There are, however, temperate zones in some of the more sheltered valleys, and the presence of considerable forests ensures a plentiful rainfall. The eastern portion of the country is, indeed, a sharp contrast to the western and more arid sphere. Badakhshan is rich in mineral resources, salt, sulphur, iron, lapis-lazuli, and the ruby being found, but these deposits are not worked regularly, nor in a modern way.

In the region of Wakhan, an alpine district of Badakhshan, hemmed in by lofty mountains, the people are mostly occupied in the patriarchal employment of the shepherd and in keeping flocks of yaks. The lowest hamlet in this district is 8,000 feet above sea level, and the highest about 11,000 feet, yet it is found possible to grow scanty crops of barley, and there is plenty of grass of a kind for the flocks.

The province of Afghan Turkestan is, perhaps, one of the most important in the country, and is, indeed, equal to Herat or Kandahar. It has a number of flourishing industrial centres, among them Tashkurgan and Mazar-i-Sharief, a place to which the Russians have always attached much importance. From Tashkurgan caravans go to India and Bokhara. It is surrounded by a wall three miles in circumference and has about twenty thousand houses, each of which is surrounded by a mud wall of its own. The whole town is thickly planted with fruit-trees, and through the middle of the streets run irrigating channels. There is a crowded bazaar, in which cattle, sheep, mules, goats and horses are sold, cotton goods and silk stuffs from India, and fruits and nuts from the countryside. The Hindus act as money-lenders and bankers, and extract exorbitant interest.

Balkh, a city of ancient fame, lies some fifty miles to the westward. The place, which once covered a circuit of nearly twenty miles, is now in a state of almost complete ruin. The whole of the northern half of the old city is one immense waste; the walls have been worn down into the most fantastic shapes by wind and weather, and the citadel is nothing but a mound. Balkh has, indeed, met the fate of Babylon and Baalbek. Beyond this venerable place the territories of a number of minor khanates begin, which have at times been Afghan, at others Bokharan. The population is a mixture of divers races—



An old mosque erected by Emperor Baber at Kabul.

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Tajiks, Uzbeks, Persians, and Turkomans—who are only united in their faith, which is, however, divided in this district between the Sunni and Shiah sects. The Andkhui district is rendered fruitful by the Oxus, which is the source of extensive irrigation, but which is here undrinkable. Fruit, corn, rice and live-stock are raised in great abundance, and black lamb-skins are exported to Persia in large quantities, camels to the Trans-Oxanian regions, and fruit and cereals to the other provinces.

So far I have made no mention of Kabul itself. It is situated at the western extremity of a spacious plain, in an angle formed by two converging heights. It is about three miles in circumference, and is now unwalled. It extends a mile and a half from east to west and a mile from north to south. Hemmed in by mountains, it can develop towards Shirpur only, and it has long been a pet scheme of more than one recent Ameer to lay down the foundations of a new capital elsewhere, which would be worthy of the dignity and growing importance of the state. Indeed Abdur Rahman had planned such a city in the Chahardeh Valley to the west of Shere Darwaza, when the project was interrupted by his death. At present Kabul is a strange mixture of the new and the old. Mean and neglected in places, with rambling lanes and narrow, ill-paved streets, there is still a kind of tawdry magnificence about many of its ways and buildings. Handsome edifices are constantly being built, and frequently

are abandoned almost as soon as completed. The modern palaces are fine, the Dil Khusha Palace, designed by a European architect, being especially so.

The bazaars of Kabul are in reality not so fine as those of some other Afghan towns. The principal are the Shor, the Erg and the Darwaza Lahori. The Nakush Bazaar, or cattle market, is situated north of the Kabul river and the chief grain bazaars lie in the Tandur Sazi quarter, between the Shor Bazaar and the Darwaza Lahori. The great fruit market is in the Shikarpuri quarter, where the fruits for which Kabul is famous are exposed for sale. Nearly every department of merchandise has its special locality, shoes, meat, vegetables, copper, tobacco, arms, furs, and drugs each being sedulously kept apart.

The extreme breadth of the country from north-east to south-west is about 700 miles; its length from the Herat frontier to the Khyber Pass approximately 600 miles; and the total land area is still somewhat indefinite, but for all practical purposes it is calculated to be between 245,000 and 270,000 square miles. Little or no attempt has ever been made at the census of the people, but known figures upon which much of the official work is understood declare the population to be about twelve millions. The largest Afghan towns have the following varying population: Kabul, 100,000; Kandahar, 60,000; Herat, 121,000; Mazar-i-Sharief, 46,000. The entire country is divided

The snow-clad Safaid Koh range in Afghanistan.

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administratively into nine unequal parts. The five major provinces are those of Kabul, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-i-Sharief and Kataghan-Badakhshan; while the four minor divisions are Jelallabad, Khost, Farah, and Maimena.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF AFGHANISTAN

AS to the origin of the Afghans there seems to be much divergence of opinion. Professor Wilson, for instance, believes that the inhabitants of Afghanistan prior to the Greek invasion were Hindus, and that on the decline of the Indo-Scythians, the Hindus were governing and inhabiting the country once again, till the Moslem wave reached beyond Persia and converted the people of Afghanistan to the faith of the Prophet of Mecca at the end of the seventh century. That, of course, is little better than a theory.

The legendary account given by the Afghans regarding their great sires, although unsupported by known history, is yet interesting. According to the traditions, then, the people there trace their pre-historical connection with one Afghana. But in order to appreciate the position of Afghana, I must begin with the life story of Ibin Yamin, Bin Yacoob, commonly known as Qais. Now Qais and his only son Sarral lived as shepherds on the banks of the river Nile in Egypt. Sarral was a big, stalwart man and people nicknamed him as Taweel or Tall.

The story goes to say that one day two sheep of Taweel's herd went astray, and while he was

searching for them in the parched deserts of Egypt he suddenly came upon a man called Ismail from the tribe of Lawee. Ismail was so impressed by Taweel that he forthwith requested him to become the King of Beni-Israil. The man of the Lawee tribe was not without the skill of the supernatural, and when he poured some oil over the head of Taweel the shepherd's hair curled up in the shape of a crown fit for kings, and thus Taweel became the monarch of the Beni-Israil.

Taweel married into the tribe of Lawee and had a daughter Iramiah whom he married to Daud and their son was Afghana. It is believed that Afghana greatly helped his father in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. When misadventure befell the children of Israil, Afghana trekked to the hills of Ghoor with his forty sons, and thence to Afghanistan. This narrative seems to approximate to the story that the Afghans are in some way or other connected with the Lost Tribes of Israel; but this is sharply contested. There is, at any rate, no authentic record either to substantiate or to refute the theory. On the other hand, certain Moslem historians have mentioned that the headman of the refugees was summoned from Kohistan by the Prophet Mahomed, but his name is given as Qais and not Afghana. This Qais is said to have embraced Islam and was named Abdur Rashid. Later when Qais distinguished himself in battle, he was nicknamed as Pathan—a rudder—who, it was felt was

capable of steering the " boat of Islam in Asia through the troubled water of infidelity." I have endeavoured to record the above account merely to open a vast avenue for a fascinating study of the pre-history of the Afghans which has been neglected far too long.

The antiquities of Afghanistan have been entirely neglected by historians and archæologists, chiefly because of the political upheavals which have disturbed that country, rendering it impossible to undertake the necessary local researches. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, possesses some of the oldest and most interesting relics of Greek art and civilisation in Asia. Fully two thousand years before Julius Cæsar brought his legions to Albion, Kabul had already figured in history. Ptolemy and other ancient geographers applied the term " Ariana " to a country lying between the Suleiman mountains in the east and the great salt desert of Northern Persia in the west. It was bounded by Baluchistan in the south, by the Hindu Kush range with the Karabel plateau in the north. From these boundaries one may easily identify the country with modern Afghanistan with the addition of Khorasan, which now forms a province of Persia.

Ariana—ancient Afghanistan—was divided into three provinces : Drangiana, which occupied the whole of Northern Afghanistan ; Arachosia, the north-eastern portion ; and Paropamisus, the valley of the Kabul river. The city of Kabul was called Ortospanum, Jelallabad,

Plegerium Nagara, Kandahar, Gandhara, and Farah Phra. It is of interest to note that in the case of Gandhara, the only alteration in its form has been the change of " G " into " K," according to a well-known law of Semitic euphony. Indeed some people, to this day, call a Kandahari—one belonging to Kandahar—a Gandahari. Again the Grecian name of the town Phra has only been modified by replacing " Ph " by " F." The early history of Afghanistan is indelibly bound up with the conquest of Alexander. To several other cities in Central Asia and Afghanistan the great Hellenic conqueror gave his name. Herat, for instance, was called after him. The ruins of Opiane in the Kabul river valley can still be identified ; even to Khojend, on the Jaxartes, the most remote of Alexander's conquests in Central Asia, are still situated the ruins of Alexander's Cyropolis.

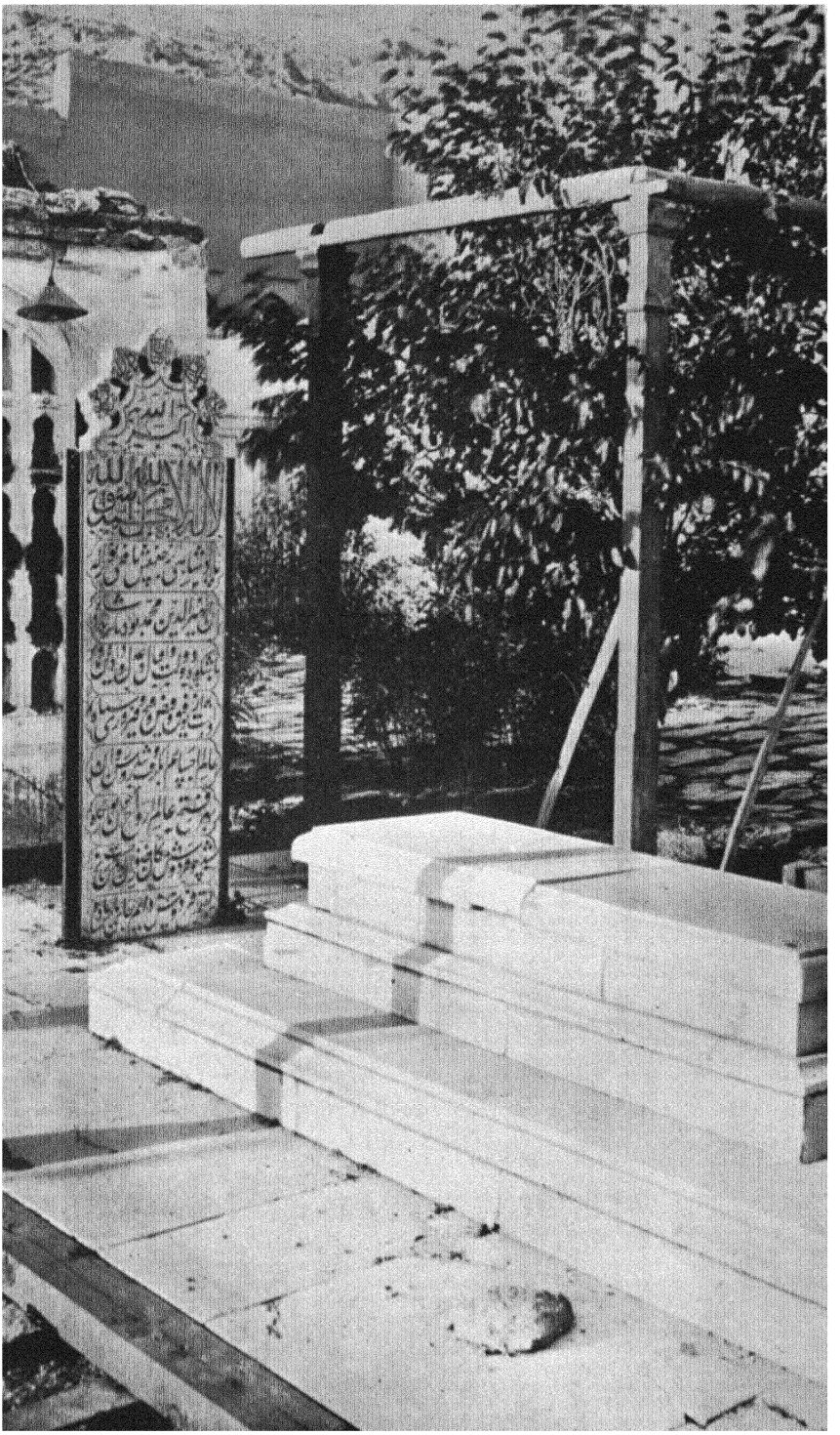
Alexander entered Afghanistan from the north-west. Occupying Herat, now on the Perso-Afghan frontier, he directed his movements against the south-western regions of Afghanistan, capturing Farah, and marching up to Kandahar and to Ghazni. Having thus encircled Kabul, he reduced that town also. Most strategists are aware that whosoever is in possession of the Ghorband and Panjshair valleys, in the neighbourhood of the capital of Afghanistan, holds the keys of Central Asia in his hands. Alexander made these valleys his bases, whence he could proceed to the conquest of Bactria and India.

Another locality which enshrines the memory

of Alexander is the Kalif ferry over the Oxus in the north of Afghanistan. This point is still regarded as of great strategical importance, and in its immediate vicinity Russians and Afghans have clashed within quite recent times. The Afghan tendency towards hero worship has not failed to impart to the Kalif ford—Alexander's crossing point—a considerable degree of reverence. Indeed the local guide insists upon our believing that certain footprints in a rock beside the river were those of Alexander, who stood thereon whilst watching his legions crossing the stream.

At the death of Alexander the Greek Empire in the East soon broke up. His generals immediately divided it among themselves. Bactria was under Satrap Philip; Afghanistan under Strasanor and Sibertius; and India under Oxyartes, father-in-law of the dead leader. Discontent regarding the manner of apportioning the empire prevailed amongst these Greek generals, and after seven years' fighting, Seleucus emerged as ruler from "the Euphrates to the Oxus and Indus." But Seleucus did not realise the wisdom of Alexander regarding the natural strength of the Kabul valleys, and failed to retain them as military headquarters. The base was abandoned, and India was bartered to Chandra Gupta for five hundred elephants. His ambassador, Megasthenes, is known to have represented the Greeks at the Court of the Hindu emperor.

The history of those Greek kings who guided



The historic grave of Emperor Baber at Kabul.

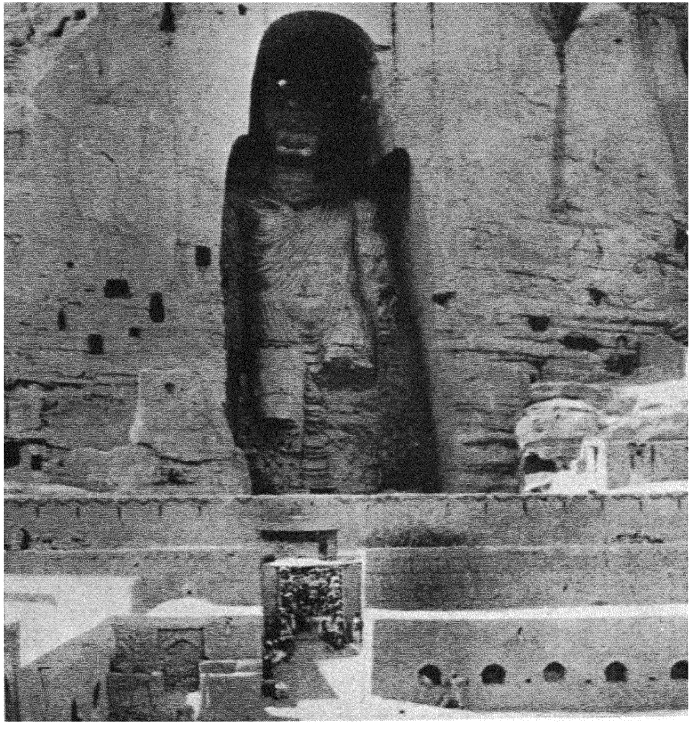
the destinies of early Afghanistan is a stormy one. In 280 B.C. Seleucus was murdered, and was succeeded by Antiochus Soter, who was succeeded by Antiochus Theos; this latter sovereign was undecided as to which of his two wives, Leodike and Berenike, he favoured more, and Leodike, to put an end to his doubts, poisoned him. Seleucus II succeeded him in 246 B.C. and the Bactrian Greeks, revolting during his reign, occupied Kabul, which henceforth became a Bactrian province.

Diodotus, who had headed the Bactrian revolt, was succeeded, as a King of Kabul, by his son Demetrius, merely to be replaced by Eucratides, who in turn was murdered by his own son, whose name remains unknown. From this point history is silent regarding the doings of the Seleucidas, although the names of two Greek kings are mentioned—those of Menander and Apollodotus. Records cease to be helpful here, and we must be assisted by the no less valuable evidence of monumental structures, coins, and other relics from all over the Middle East, but chiefly in the ruins of Begram near Kabul.

The plain of Begram, thirty miles north of Kabul, which still awaits the spade of the explorer, is littered with ruins of the highest importance to the history of Alexander's supremacy in Afghanistan. Coins are found in this plain, as the upper soil is washed away by rains or turned by the wooden plough of husbandmen. As many as 30,000 coins are generally discovered each year. But Begram is not the only locality

where archæological relics are to be encountered. There are many topes scattered over the Kabul valley even farther east than Jelallabad. The topes are immense solid domes raised on round towers, and decorated by green glazed paint. These are the pyramids of Afghanistan. No effort has been made to force an entry into these structures, and one which has been struck by lightning revealed many interesting relics—vessels, coins, rings, signets and seals, some of which bore Greek inscriptions on one side. The coins found in Afghanistan have inscriptions both in Greek and the old Kabulee languages, just as the modern Indian rupee bears both English and Urdu characters. The Kabulee inscription was nearly always found to be a Sanskrit translation of the Greek version.

The cities of the valley of Kabul, like their ancient Greek prototype, possessed a mint, and each mint had its own monogram. No less than 150 monograms are given, and from these one can ascertain what part of the country a king had ruled over in Ariana ; from the style we can also judge the approximate dates. When India became severed from Greece, and communications ceased from the mother country, an artistic deterioration set in. The coins of Diodotus, the first Bactrian king, are excellent specimens of true Grecian art. So are those of Antiochus. But the coins of Hermæus, the last of the Bactrian monarchs, are very rude ; even the spelling of the Greek on them is incorrect, and the letters have degenerated to mere barbarous symbols.



[*Asiatic Society of Bengal*

One of the huge statues carved out of the solid cliffs of tertiary conglomerate at Bamian in the North of Afghanistan. This, as well as other carvings and caves, have been identified as belonging to the Buddhist Age.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

Chakri Munar, an historical column of about 105 feet high, which stands on the Kotal Munar pass at a distance of about eight miles from Kabul.

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The coins of the first two kings are of gold, while their successors had contented themselves with silver and copper. This may strengthen the assumption that the Greek Conquest had stripped India of such gold as was easily procurable by ancient methods.

The portraits on some of the coins are magnificent, and the four-drachma pieces of Eucratides are very fine indeed. They have the portrait of the king on one side; the reverse contains two horsemen; on the margin are the name and the titles of the Greek king: "Eucratides, the king, the Saviour." Apollodotus has, in addition to his title, a somewhat novel prefix—"The lover of his father." Many coins are square in shape. The Greek gods are not infrequently depicted on these ancient coins, Hercules with his club, and Apollo with his bow being constantly met with. One coin has a fish on it; the owl, as the bird of wisdom, is also represented, while elephants and bullocks also figure.

It will, perhaps, be of some interest to give a list of the kings whose coins have been found either in Kabul or its environs, the Punjab of Bactria. They are as follows: Diodotus I; Diodotus II; Antimachus I; Euthydemus; Demetrius; Antimachus II; Pantaleon; Agathokles; Heliokles, and his queen Leodike; Apollodotus; Straton, and his queen Agathokleia; Lysias; Nikias; Archebias; Zoilus; Menander; Theophilus; Antialkidas; Philozenes; Diomedes; Dionysius; Epander;

Amyntes; Hippostratus; Apollophanes; Antremidorus; Telephus; Hermæus and his queen Kalliope; and Straton II—twenty-nine kings and three queens, who were entirely unknown to history until the recent discoveries.

The Hellenic kings seem to have reigned for about 140 years only—from 260 to 120 B.C. During the reign of Hermæus, the country of Afghanistan was overrun by the Scythians, as is shown by the appearance on a Greek coin of the name of a Scythian king Kajula Kadopes.

The rapid change in regard to succession of these Greek kings in that part of the East gave some of them just time enough to strike coins. Nadir Shah, when he invaded India, set his mint to work during his brief stay of fifty-seven days in India. Similarly, Sikandar Shah, who reigned for fifty-four days, circulated his coinage. The exercise of the privilege of coining is the monopoly of royalty in the East. Almost the very first thing which a king does on ascending the throne is to institute a coinage. But, apart from this consideration, we have evidence of several Greek kings reigning in Kabul and Bactria at one and the same time.

The coinage enables us to judge of local conditions in Afghanistan. King was fighting against king, the father sometimes against his son.

The title of Apollodotus, "the lover of his father," has a sinister meaning, for he was guilty of his predecessor's assassination. Internecine wars have been never-ending.

The Greek kings of Kabul were idolaters, and

their intimate association with the East did not alter their religion. A hundred years after they had ceased to rule Kabul, coins were struck on which not only were the Greek letters used, but the figures of their gods also appeared. Some of these on the Indo-Scythian coins are decidedly Indian in aspect, but their Sanskrit names are Hellenised and are written in Greek characters. Theophilus, for instance, seems a strange name for a Greek king of that period.

During the first Christian century the Yueh-Chi, a Central Asian horde, crushed out the last remnants of Greek rule, and also expelled the Parthians. Kanishka was one of the greatest of the Yueh-Chi rulers. When his empire fell to pieces, the Turki kings of his race reigned for several centuries afterward in the Kabul valley, and in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Huien Tsiang, found them still professing Buddhism.

About the end of the ninth century the Turki Shahis gave place to Hindu rulers, who finally disappeared before the onslaught of the Ghaznivids. In 642 the Arabs had occupied western Afghanistan, and Herat became one of the principal cities of the Mahomedan world. They failed to conquer Kabul.

On the break up of the Khalifat, the Persian Saffavids, in the ninth century, ruled for a short time in Herat and Balkh. They were succeeded by the more powerful Samanids, and they in turn by the Turkish house of Ghaznee.

The greatest of the Ghaznivids was Mahmud, who reigned from 988 to 1030. He ruled over Afghanistan, Trans-Oxiana, Western Persia and the Punjab, and founded a university at Ghaznee.

After Mahmud's death his outlying possessions fell to the Seljuk Turks, that is, the west and north; but the Afghan house of Ghor finally dispossessed his descendants of their remaining Afghan and Indian dominions. The greatest of the Ghorids was Shahab-ud-din Mahomed (1173–1206), who conquered the whole of north India.

Afghanistan was next overrun by the Mongol hordes of Chengis Khan. His descendants ruled here till Timur Lang subdued the country and proceeded to the sack of Delhi in 1398. When Timur died in 1405, and his empire fell to pieces, his descendants continued to rule in Herat, Balkh, Ghaznee, Kabul and Kandahar.

One of them, Babar, the King of Badakhshan, Kabul and Kandahar, descended upon India in 1525 at the head of a Turki-Afghan army, and at Panipat (1526) overthrew Sultan Ibrahim Lodi of Delhi (also of Afghan descent). Thus were laid the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Now the Afghan possessions become of secondary importance to the Mughals, for Badakhshan was occupied by Uzbeks; Herat and Kandahar fell to the Persian dynasty of the Safavids. All that was left in Mughal possession were Ghaznee and the province of Kabul. In 1708 the Ghilzais of Kandahar threw off the Persian yoke while the Abdalis (Durranis) took Herat and overran

Khorasan. In 1738 Nadir Shah conquered Afghanistan.

In 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India and sacked Delhi. When he was returning home he was assassinated and the loot of vast treasures and wealth fell to the Afghans in his army. Amongst his soldiers was an Afghan general of cavalry, one Ahmad Shah, of the Saddozai section of the Abdali clan—a Durrani. The treasure of Delhi falling into his hands, he laid the foundation of the Durrani Empire.

So in the year 1747, the date of the assassination of Nadir Shah, Afghanistan became for the first time a national monarchy. This Durrani Empire was never stable. It lasted only fifty years. Under Ahmad Shah a series of well-organised expeditions into India took place, resulting in the famous victory over the Maratha hosts at Panipat, 1761. The Durrani Empire included all of modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, parts of Persia, Sind, the Derajat, the Punjab to Lahore, Kashmir, and the Yusafzai country to the north of Peshawar. Badakhshan paid tribute to that ruler at Kabul.

Ahmad Shah died in 1773 and was succeeded by his son Timur. Under the son the empire began to decline. Sind fell to the Talpur Ameers; and Balkh became virtually independent. In 1793 Timur was succeeded by his son Zaman, during whose reign the Punjab was over-run by Sikhs. From thence onward, until 1818, Afghanistan was the scene of hideous family conflicts between the many sons of Timur.

Indeed, at one time great fears were entertained in India that Zaman would invade it, but he remained too much occupied in Persian troubles and family quarrels. In 1799 Mahmud, a son of Timur, seized the throne.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century (1803), as a result of a conspiracy, the throne passed to Shuja-ul-Mulk. At this time, or rather in 1809, Lord Minto was the Governor-General of India, and the fear of Napoleon caused him to despatch Elphinstone to conclude an alliance with the Ameer of Kabul. While the flower of Shuja's army was crushing a revolt in Kashmir shortly after the mission, he was deposed, and once more Mahmud reigned in his stead. Shuja became a refugee at Ludhiana in India. Mahmud was deposed in 1818, which marks the end of the Sadozai dynasty in Afghanistan.

For years following the displacement of the Sadozais, there was considerable internecine fighting, but in 1826 Dost Mahomed Khan, of the Barakzai clan, made himself lord of Kabul and Ghazni. It was not, however, till 1835 that he assumed the title of the Ameer.

The First Afghan War (1839–1842)

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, now attempted to restore the Sadozai, i.e. Shah Shuja, because he thought that Shah Shuja, being more friendly would be a more desirable ruler of a neighbouring state, also

it was presumed that Dost Mahomed Khan was inclined towards Russia. The whole thing was a sad mistake, the main facts of it being that Shah Shuja was installed for a time but the Afghans hated a puppet Ameer who was kept on his throne by British bayonets. Shah Shuja was eventually murdered and Dost Mahomed became Ameer and reigned till 1863.

After the second Sikh war, 1849, India and Afghanistan became neighbours and now the frontier troubles begin, because up to 1893 no proper boundary line existed between the two countries. In 1850, however, Dost Mahomed reconquered Balkh and in 1855 a friendly treaty was signed between India and Afghanistan. During the same year the Ameer captured Kandahar. It was lucky for the English that Dost Mahomed was friendly in the mutiny of 1857. In the year of his death he captured Herat, and was succeeded by Sher Ali Khan after much fratricidal conflict.

Proper Anglo-Afghan friendly dealings begin from 1869 when Sher Ali Khan met Lord Mayo at Amballa. He wanted a new treaty : a fixed annual subsidy, assistance in arms and men whenever he needed it, a full recognition of his dynasty at Kabul and the acknowledgment of his favourite son, Abdulla Jan, as heir. Mayo could not agree to all the demands, but promised support of which the British were to be the sole judges in respect of time and measure. Difficulties once again began to arise on account of the Czarist intrigues and General Kaufmann,

Governor of Russian Turkestan, corresponded freely with the Ameer of Kabul. When Lord Mayo was assassinated Anglo-Afghan estrangement had reached its climax, to which was added the Perso-Afghan difficulties over Seistan. When the dispute over the Seistan boundary was handed over to British arbitration, the result being in favour of Persia, animosity to England grew apace in Afghanistan.

In 1873 Russia annexed Khiva in Central Asia and distinctly menaced the independence of Turkestan and the Khanates. The Ameer of Afghanistan was also thoroughly alarmed by the wave of Russian territorial expansion beyond his northern border and feeling justifiably uneasy, Sher Ali Khan addressed the British Government for a closer friendship, but Lord Northbrook took a different view. In the following year Lord Beaconsfield became the Prime Minister of England, and Lord Salisbury was appointed as a Secretary of State for India. Great Britain made a definite demand to have her interests watched by an Englishman at Kabul rather than by an Indian Mahomedan at the Court of the Ameer. The King of Kabul could not see his way to agree to the demand, arguing, as he rightly did, that the fanaticism of his people at the time would impose too great a responsibility upon him in protecting a British agent in Afghanistan.

The second Afghan War (1878–1880) arose out of a mere shadow of excuse. Lord Lytton pressed the point of a British representative

at Kabul despite Ameer Sher Ali Khan's repeated explanation that to house a national of the British Isles at that pitch of the Afghan temper was not possible, and the security of life of such a British gentleman he frankly admitted to be beyond his power to guarantee. Lytton took it into his head that the Ameer's excuse was inspired by the Russian intrigue against England, and also, when the British troops occupied Quetta in 1876, the Afghans began to have serious misgivings regarding the intentions of the Indian Government.

At last British troops entered Afghanistan, and the Ameer having been defeated, took refuge at Mazar-i-Sharief where he died. The first phase of this war ended with the treaty of Gundamak in 1879, and Ameer Yakub Khan ascended the throne of Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari who was appointed the British envoy in Afghanistan was murdered, which led to the British reprisals, and the new Ameer had to abdicate, giving place eventually to Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, the nephew of Ameer Sher Ali Khan, in 1880. The most important event in Afghan history to note is that Lord Ripon recognised Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan as the ruler in Afghanistan, but he was not permitted to have direct dealings with any foreign powers; all such arrangements were to be carried through the British agency. This lasted till 1919 when, after the Anglo-Afghan war, Afghanistan gained her unqualified and complete independence.

CHAPTER III

FOLK-LIFE

"ONE touch of nature," as Shakespeare has said, "makes the whole world kin." It is my intention, therefore, to deal with my subject so as to make this kinship felt. Customs and what are called "superstitions" may differ in various countries, but they are in every case associated with natural instincts and are in a sense an expression of this instinct. Behind this we see humanity groping blindly with the mysteries that surround our lives as the firmament seems to surround the globe. Some superstitions are radiant as sunlight, others dark as night but yet glorious with stars, for all folk customs have in them the element of human kindliness and sympathy, and especially so when they are performed for the benefit of others—the weak and the frail threatened by perils, the old friend or relative about to die, and the child who, helpless and how beautiful, is arising like a heavenly orb in the dawn of human consciousness.

In the West has been formulated a science which deals with folk-lore, and some would have us believe that the intellectual life of primitive peoples has evolved by a process governed by natural laws; others object to

drawing analogies from biological evolution, and contend that the folk-life of separated peoples is the result of the reaction of the human mind on its environment, and that there are strictly local beliefs and practices; in short, that every belief has an area of origin and is part of the history of a people rather than the product of a natural law—a distinction with a difference. But it is not the intention of the writer to enter on any controversial aspect of the subject. He prefers simply to act the part of the recorder and tell you of those things he has seen and of which he has heard, leaving the data accumulated to be dealt with in accordance with whatever fashion of thinking is favoured by individual readers.

Festivals, for instance, cannot be dealt with at any length, but as many of those are Islamic and resemble those held elsewhere, having been imported, it is better to confine one's attention chiefly to those domestic customs and beliefs which are not generally known. Let us, therefore, step into the Afghan family circle and share, for a time, its interests, and especially in so far as they are of import to students of folk-lore. For the time being dismiss from your minds the Afghan as a fighting man and be introduced to him as a peaceful householder. It will be found that there is a good deal of human nature in the picturesque individual and much in his family circle.

Beginning with birth, pass through the years of youth to the marriage ceremony, and follow

the individual to the death-bed, so that we may become acquainted, if only in outline, with the life-history of an Afghan.

Even before he enters the world the Afghan creates a stir. Preparations are made for his arrival, because ceremonies have to be performed which will, as is believed, exercise an influence on his future life. The mother-to-be is confined to her room in the eighth month or even earlier, according to the state of her health, and she is watched over by midwives. These midwives are not trained, as is the case in the West. A woman practises because her mother was a midwife, and although her knowledge as a nurse may be limited—too severely limited in not a few cases—she is invariably expert in a sense that the folk-lorist understands, and is inclined to encourage, if the truth be confessed.

Relatives begin to arrive a few days before the birth is due. When it becomes known that the birth is imminent, others arrive, the men armed with matchlocks. When it is announced to those waiting outside the house that the babe is born, the guns are fired, tom-toms are beaten, and the players of musical instruments set up a clamour at once shrill and deafening. But everyone strikes the appropriate human note. " Happy and prosperous be your days ! " each says to the other. " Happy and prosperous be your days ! " is the wish expressed on behalf of the new-born babe too. The guns and tom-toms scare away all evil influences ; the good wishes are productive of good influences.

All hearts are opened in this time of rejoicing and congratulation for a living mother and a living child, and buckets of grain are distributed to the poor. The imagination as well as the heart of the Afghan is touched by the mystery and crisis of birth.

In connection with the shooting, this is a well-defined custom. If the babe is a girl, seven or five shots are fired, but if a boy, fourteen shots or even more. It matters not about what time of the day or night the birth takes place. The clamour is as loud in the darkness as in the daylight. No one in an Afghan village requires to wait for a morning paper to advertise the hour and place of birth; often in the dead of night people are awakened by the birth demonstration, only, however, to repeat one to another the appropriate good wish, "Happy and prosperous be your days!"

The date and hour of the child's birth is of great consequence. Friday is a lucky birthday. Happy is the babe who sees the light on that day. A child born at early morning is assured of success in life; a child born in a storm is expected to endure ill-health or to have to face other troubles in the days to come. Sometimes children are named after the month of birth —one named Ramzani, for instance, is one born in the month of Ramazan, the month of fasting.

When the child is born, intimation must speedily be made to relatives residing at a distance. Servants of the household mount

their horses and gallop away at full speed to tell the glad tidings. Their steps are hastened by the knowledge that they will receive rewards of money and silk turbans from those to whom they are going.

In the household, both father and mother are heartily congratulated. Then all except the household guests retire. These guests are expected to assist in attending to mother and child. Each female, as a rule, has some special remedy to offer to restore the strength of the mother. The commonest cure is a safe and sensible enough one. It is called *ajwani*, and is a soup made of ajowan seeds (*carum copticum*), caraway seeds, sliced ginger, cloves, meat, chicken, sugar. It is boiled until the fibres of the meat disappear in the mixture. The soup is given to the mother every three or four hours, being freshly prepared each time. The apartment is kept dimly lighted and well heated. In a corner stands a pedestal, with a dish in which burns incense of benzoin and joss sticks. For some weeks no visitor is expected to enter the house. They may obtain news of the mother and child's progress at the door or from servants who bear messages.

During the first two months the child is wrapped in a silken quilt, over which is a white cloth inscribed with sacred verses from the Koran, worked in black silk. A thick silk or cotton cord is wound spirally from neck to toe about the child. The cradle is a sort of hammock made of thick Persian carpet, and is gently

swung to lull the babe to sleep. It is extremely unlucky, by the way, to swing an empty cradle.

If the mother's milk is deficient, a wet nurse is engaged. Much care is taken in selecting her. Her character must be above reproach. She must be of good parentage, and her husband must be honest and brave—one who has never fled in battle or ever been wounded in the back. The wet nurse is given a special diet and is greatly honoured by the servants.

The first ceremony is performed by the Imam or Mulla of the district. He comes and reads in a loud voice into both ears of the child a prayer which is as follows :

> Allaho akbar, Allaho akbar, ush hado,
> Ullaelaha, illulla, ush hado, una,
> Mahomeder, rassul, ullah, Allaho
> Akbar, Allaho akbar.

" God is great, God is great ! I am a witness that there is no God but one God, and that Mahomed is His Prophet. God is great, God is great ! "

The popular belief is that a child is born without a faith, and that if this prayer is not repeated in his ears, then he is no Moslem, although born of Moslem parents.

For his service the Mulla receives a silk turban, some money, and sweetmeats.

When the child is five or six months old the naming ceremony is performed. It is attended by blood relatives. The Mulla or the spiritual

leader of a Sufi order is called, or, failing one of those, an elder or a poet pronounces the full name. The surname, be it understood, need not necessarily be that borne by the father. A man named Fateh Khan, for instance, may name his son Ahmad Shah, or Nabi Jan, or the like. Among the better classes two names are given, one the ordinary name for the household, and the other the literary or birth date name. The two names may perchance be run together and pronounced as one. In a special code of Persian, every letter in the alphabet is numbered. If the numbers of the date name are added, the total will give the year of birth. Only males can receive a date name. It is not customary for ladies to have more than one name, and, of course, if it is beautiful enough, one is really quite sufficient.

When a few months old, the head-shaving ceremony is performed by the family barber. The child is dressed in gaudy clothing; the barber spreads an embroidered handkerchief, wets the hair with rose-water from a silver cup, and shaves with a new razor. This practice has originated in the belief that the hair of a new-born child is unclean.

Friends and relatives attend the ceremony. They dine after the barber does his part, and are afterwards entertained to a musical programme. While the instrumentalists are engaged the barber presents the silver cup that held the rose-water, and each guest drops a coin into it. All the coins must be silver, and they all go to

the barber's banking account. The shaving is repeated time and again until the child is four or five years old. The first shaving alone, however, is a ceremonial one.

The dread of the evil eye is prevalent. The foster-mother must observe strict rules to avert its influence. When the child is taken outside the house, special precautions are taken. On no account must it be taken out at night, and certainly never on a Thursday night, as the evil spirits are particularly malevolent on that night. The nurse must not eat any white cereal, such as rice, outside on a starry night. The star-eyes are dangerous. The baby should not be taken out when the sun is shining brightly at noon, not because of fear of sunstroke, but because vultures and other birds of prey may at that hour drop eggs of corrosive liquid on the child.

When a thunderstorm rages, the child is supposed to be in special danger. Lightning strikes an only child. It is important that the baby should, when carried out of doors, be kept from the evil gaze of beggars, criminals, and others of ill-repute. The face is veiled. I observe that babies are similarly protected in this country, although the significance of the custom is probably lost except in rural districts.

When an Afghan has passed his second year, a juvenile function takes place. Small boys of eight or nine years of age are assembled, and march together to the house of the parents, there to sing together in praise of mother and

child and to invoke blessings on both. Each boy receives a gift.

When a child is cutting its teeth, the event is celebrated by a gathering of relatives. In time, when the milk teeth begin to come out, they are thrown into a mousehole, so that the new teeth may be sharp and strong as those of a mouse.

The child is kept on milk diet until about three years of age. Then it is put on "grain and hard diet." The occasion is celebrated in ceremonial manner. The family collect in a room, and the parents recite long passages from the Koran. The child's neck is adorned by charms, including luck-stones, luck-wood, and the carved claw of a lion or tiger. In addition to the charms, a sacred pendant is worn; the pendant for a girl is more ornamented than that given to a boy. The sacred pendant may be a coin, or a piece of metal inscribed, or perhaps a jewel attached to gold or silver chains. For a year or two the child is freed from ceremonials. When, however, a new dress is put on, a visit is paid to the relatives, who drop coins into the pockets.

A boy's education begins at eight or nine. He may attend a mosque school or a public school, which is partly supported by the Government. The books used are prepared by educationists, chiefly notable Mullas, and the Mullas appoint the teachers. Every village has its school. The more important towns, such as Kabul, Kandahar, Ghazni, and Herat, have

large and well-organised educational institutions, the more advanced being somewhat like Western universities. In these a training is given in the more important Oriental languages. Science is not neglected, but religious philosophy bulks largely in the curriculum. Sufis and Mullas have almost complete control of these universities, which are attended by students from many lands. The schools at Badakhshan, a town on the borders of Afghanistan and Turkestan, are attended by many students from Bokhara.

I now come to the betrothal and wedding customs and ceremonies. The contracting parties do not act on their own account. There is no preliminary love-making period, as in the West, but as arranged between parents or guardian, a proceeding not entirely unknown in the West. The young people have no opportunity of making advances or proposals. Purda (seclusion) makes it impossible for the young people to meet. When a boy is advancing in his teens, his parents open negotiations with the parents of some coy maid who has been discovered by some woman hired to play the part of social spy. This lady, who keeps her engagement secret, visits various houses and reports to the gentleman who has engaged her on the habits and manners of families, on the beauty and behaviour of possible brides, and, last but not least, on the financial position of desirable girls. The pedigrees of a girl's father and mother are scrutinised, and, if the parents are

dead all particulars regarding the cause of death and their ages when they passed away. If a beautiful orphan had parents who died of some disease, there is hesitation about contracting a family alliance. The Afghan gives some consideration to eugenics.

Of great importance is the question of class, and of great importance the question of sect. Men with long pedigrees do not wish their sons to marry the daughters of upstarts. Shiahs will not inter-marry with Sunnis, for, although both sects are Islamic, there is a gulf between them as there is between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Christian world. Shiahs are of Persian extraction, and are called Quzilbashi, or merely Quzilbash. Then Syeds will not give a daughter except to a Syed. Syeds are direct descendants of the Prophet Mahomed. A Moslem girl will not wed a Hindu, although there are Hindus in Kabul. Spiritual leaders, i.e. Peers or Sufis, will not give their daughters to a commoner. The young man must, however, belong to the family of another spiritual leader.

When all conditions are given consideration to, and a likely bride is found, the parents of the young man take action. First of all the existing friendship is cultivated, the motive, however, being well concealed. Even when the parties concerned know what is coming, nothing is said regarding marriage for some time. Indeed, one or two years may go past before they talk business. During the interval

there may be frequent visits, banquets, and the exchange of gifts. It may be that the young man's mother may show a special interest in the girl, and she may give her a gift or two from time to time.

When at length the negotiations are formally opened, a party of ladies will visit the girl's mother. The mother of the young man may begin by saying, " Your second daughter is, by the grace of Allah, very beautiful. She is well behaved. She is clever withal. My husband and I have often expressed our admiration for your daughter. Indeed, my husband has even suggested that we might approach you with the proposal that our houses should be allied by the marriage of our children. My son, by the mercy of God, is well educated, and he has manly qualities. If an alliance can be formed, I am assured that my son will always be meek and obedient to you, and that he will make and keep your daughter happy. Gentle is his spirit; he would be as dust on which your daughter may tread." (I may interject here that the young men of Afghanistan are not particularly meek or gentle.)

When this speech is uttered, the ladies who have accompanied the young man's mother speak in his praise. Some praise the girl and her mother.

At this conference the girl's mother says very little. She sits listening with downcast eyes, betraying no emotion, and in the end very gracefully expresses thanks for all that has been

said. She urges that there is no haste for marriage. Both lad and lass are still young and do not understand the *nashaib* and *faraz* of this world—that is, the ups and downs of life. She promises, however, to consult her husband, and then the party is invited to remain and partake of food and entertainment. This meeting is called *dukhtar talabi*, or " daughter-seeking."

For some months the negotiations may not be advanced further. Delay, however, is promising. If there is to be a refusal, it is made promptly but politely, a common excuse being that the girl is delicate and unable to undertake household duties, or, it may be, the mother pleads her inability to part with her daughter. Excuses are easily framed.

When some time has passed and no answer is received, a servant may be sent to the house of the girl's parents bearing a message in the nature of a reminder. A vague answer may be returned. Indeed, several vague answers may be given to several successive reminders. A monthly message is sent at first. Then comes a fortnightly one. Meanwhile the girl's parents are making enquiries regarding the young man's parents, and, even when they are satisfied that the prospects are good, they hesitate, so that the girl may be all the more highly valued, being difficult to get.

There is an Afghan saying in this connection, " That consent is not given until the young man's people wear their shoes by paying calls

until the soles are as thin as the thin layer of an onion." The negotiations have all the while to be delicately managed. A slight error of judgment or action may shatter all hope of effecting an alliance.

In the end, if all goes well, the young man is accepted by the girl's parents in their daughter's nominal *ghulami* (slavery). Then a day is arranged when the members of the young man's family will attend at the home of the prospective bride the ceremony of *qand shikini*—a name derived from Persian *qand*, loaf-sugar in cones, and *shikini*, the action of breaking. This sugar-breaking ceremony is the betrothal ceremony.

The mother of the girl invites near relatives to the house, and these and the near relatives of the young man arrive with gifts, which are carried in trays by servants, who march in procession, perhaps with a band. The youths of the party fire guns, and the procession thus arrives in great style. Round the girl's house the trees are hung with lanterns and ornaments. Inside, Persian carpets are spread, and on these are great cushions on which the guests are to recline. A *mahfil* is held while the guests arrive, *mahfil* signifying a scene of mirth and song.

The greetings are warm and delightful. "*Khush amadi*," they say, "*manda nabashi*"—that is, "Happy your coming," and "We hope you are not weary."

The ladies join the *mahfil*, and, if the weather

is warm, *sharbat* is brought in crystal jars and served in crystal tumblers. In winter, green tea is handed round.

In time all retire. Then there is a formal re-entry into the hall. Women are veiled and the men come in. Then a grandfather stands up and takes from each tray the gifts, announcing what they are and who has presented them. Then the father of the young man comes from a corner holding a tray over his head. This tray is covered with red silk embroidered with gold. He places it at the grandfather's feet, saying, " Mr. So-and-So has kindly consented to take my son as the slave of his daughter. In this tray I have loaf-sugar cones. By breaking one against the other, the promise of Mr. So-and-So will be sealed."

The old man uncovers the cones, of which there are four, each about eighteen inches high and six inches in circumference at the base. He calls on the company to raise their hands for prayer, so that the young people may have happiness. Each repeats a silent prayer. Then one cone is struck against the other and broken. If there are many fragments, that is a good sign. A general chorus of greetings is immediately raised. Voices call loudly, " *Mubarak* "—" Be it happy ! " Small pieces of the sugar are snatched by boys and maidens. Another prayer follows when all have become silent again.

There is no further ceremony—no engagement ring. The guests remain and make merry. Some remain all night. Meanwhile, the girl

A general panorama of the City of Kabul.

who is to be married sits in her room. No one is allowed to see her but her old nurse and her playmates.

Next day the guests are entertained at the house of the young man's mother. More presents are exchanged. The young man's tutor receives a white turban, and his mother a silk dress.

Before the marriage date is fixed there are frequent visits to both houses, and fruit offerings are made. The party carrying fruit to the house of the girl's father is formally welcomed, and the servants get awards.

The girl is meanwhile serving an apprenticeship in the kitchen, acting as senior assistant to her mother. In her spare time she makes gold-thread hats for her father and brothers. She is not happy as a rule. The thought of leaving the house of her parents weighs heavily on mind and heart, and often she shuts herself in her room and weeps long and bitterly. Her mother cannot help being affected by the girl's sorrow. They love one another very dearly, and the time of parting is at hand—often very real parting, for the girl may be going some distance away to the house of her husband, which for a time will be very lonely.

When the wedding date is arranged there is a ceremonial visit, and financial matters are discussed. It is regarded as a good omen if the morning of this visit is fine and dry, which is usually the case.

The girl's parents arrange the date, and the

visiting party agree to it. "We shall," they say, "give our boy to your daughter's slavery on such and such a day."

Ceremonies and Customs Before, At and After Marriage

The date which is mutually agreed upon gives them a clear margin of six to eight months. Most marriages are arranged to be held in winter rather than in summer. In the province of Herat one can trace a Persian influence in so far as they prefer to hold matrimonial festivals during Nuroz time. Nuroz is generally celebrated in Persia, and has its origin in that country. It is associated with the coming of the winter sun, and Farasis—or, as they are now called, Parsis—pay much attention to the sun, the ancient worship of which was closely related to customs connected with the sect of Atish Parast, or Fire Worshippers.

In these months of preparation much work is done, so as to prepare a comfortable home for the young couple. A large dowry is expected and given. Indeed, some houses are almost emptied so that the daughter may make a grand show at the wedding.

Women are employed to prepare clothing for the bride and bridegroom, and the whole household is meanwhile kept busy adding to the number of the articles which are to be given. Women sew and do embroidery, and the father and brothers visit different shops in their city

or other towns to purchase such household necessities as these ladies may ask them to procure.

Ladies of the family are requested to spare an hour or two each day so as to help in sewing the bride's trousseau; others are commissioned to do work at their homes. They all work by day and by night. In the courtyard, or over a platform round a fountain, one can see them sitting on Persian carpets, cutting, sewing or putting wool and cotton in the bed mattresses. On one side, five or six have a large quilt to sew, and there are cups of green tea by their sides. The young girls are engaged in the less elaborate needlework; others of maturer age, who are greatly skilled, are given the difficult things to do.

While we are at the dowry, it may be of interest to detail the gifts which a mother allots to her daughter. A sum of money, a piece of land, a garden, or a house are given in addition to the following articles:

1.	Wearing apparel, consisting of three pieces, in white cotton, intended for summer use	50 to 100
2.	Wearing apparel, silk (coloured)	5 to 20
3.	Richly decorated apparel (coloured)	5 to 20
4.	Highly embroidered sheets for wrapping the body	5 to 20
5.	Shoes (ordinary)	5 pairs
6.	Decorated shoes	2 pairs
7.	Shawls	5
8.	Fur coat for the bridegroom	1
9.	Linen sheets for the floor	10
10.	Carpets	5
11.	Bedsheets	10
12.	Quilts	5
13.	Crockery	No limit
14.	Glassware	No limit

15. Jewellery	No limit
16. Big roller cushions	5
17. Curtains	5
18. Table covers (white)	10 to 30
19. Table covers (prints)	10 to 30
20. Kitchen utensils and other accessories (sometimes as many as 150 pieces)	No limit
21. Handkerchiefs, socks, mufflers, caps, powder-boxes (face powder), mirrors, decorative articles, prayer carpets, clocks, etc., etc.	

The young couple are provided with an almost complete household outfit, which should last them for fifteen years. A good few carts are necessary to convey everything. The prevalent idea is " that we ought to set the young people on their feet till they may be able to support themselves."

In addition to those mentioned, there are presents given on behalf of the mother of the bride to the bridegroom. These are fewer, and are useful—turbans, a fur coat, suits of clothing, shoes, one or two horses and guns.

Meanwhile the mother of the bridegroom is also busy with her preparations, although she has to provide less than the bride's mother. She and her husband must give wedding presents to the bride, too. The articles they offer are few but costly, and include one very gaudy and highly embroidered garment, a pair of shawls, and golden shoes. The jewellery given by the bridegroom's people comprises a ring, a pair of bracelets, a string of pearls and other stones, and a pair of *pazâb* (big hollow rings for the feet, with small bullets hanging all round).

Pazâb is from the Persian : *pâ*—feet ; *zâb* from *zabidan*—becoming (becoming feet).

These presents in jewellery run away with a little fortune. All the gifts must be first class in style and of great value, and gold is one of the necessary elements. Not infrequently the same pieces of jewellery pass from generation to generation. They send their old ornaments to be polished and cleaned, and they are passed on as brand new ones, specially manufactured for the latest recipients. The poorer classes cannot make a great display, and their jewellery is mostly of silver, with one or two pieces of gold.

As soon as outside members of the clan are informed of the wedding, they procure or prepare presents for the bride and the bridegroom also. They give them to the opposite parties ; a brother of the bride's mother will give presents to the bridegroom, while a lady who may be a sister of the bridegroom's father will bring her presents for the bride.

There are no hard and fast rules as to those guests who are not very intimately related to the young people ; they may or may not give presents. Some friends offer coin of silver or gold.

About two or three months prior to the date of the marriage, invitations are sent out far and wide. A poet is requested to versify a form of invitation. It consists of from twenty to thirty couplets, and is written with golden ink on a red glazed paper, with floral designs on the

margin. It bears no family crest—which are not commonly used—and begins, like other Moslem writings, with either " God is great " or " By the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful ! " Under this text is the date of the marriage, the address and the name of the bridegroom but not of the bride, who is referred to as " the daughter of So-and-So." Modesty prevents disclosure of the name of the lady. It is of interest to note that these invitations are sent out by the bridegroom's parents and not on behalf of the bride's people. The announcement reads something like the following :

" By the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful !

" Mahomed Khan, the ' light of the eyes ' of Yâkûb Khân, is to be married to the daughter of Yâsîn Khân. The date of this lucky event is 10th of Shâbân. Your participation in the functions and ceremonies will for ever place us under your honourable obligation. We spread our eyes under your feet."

" *Poem*

" The stormy winter is far away, the spring has spread the green carpet of verdure over hills and dales. Already the buds have discarded their brownish winter coats, and the branches of the trees are no longer bare. The birds, with their sweet songs, have brought joy to the leafless trees, which flutter, like a bird without feathers, as the wind passes through

their branches laden with the fragrance of wild flowers. The sun has poured gold in the water of the rivers at sunset, and the moon has shed liquid silver on the crystal ponds. Every heart swells with gladness.

"What is it all about?

"Why! the illustrious son . . . of a pious father . . . is going to wed."

It might be noted, in passing, that the beauty of the scene which is described above is not necessarily accurate, for it may really be snowing hard when the recipient peruses the glowing invitation. The envelopes are addressed in golden ink. No replies are necessary, but an acknowledgment is always appreciated. If a man is unable to attend, he, as a rule, sends his whole family, and his wife apologises on his behalf. The invitation includes husband and wife, their children, nurses, tutors and male and female attendants. They all have to go to the bride's house, notwithstanding that the summons was from the bridegroom's father.

A month before the date of the marriage all the arrangements are complete. In summer the site where tents may be pitched for the guests is levelled and put in order. The accommodation in the *qilas* (fort) in which the family live is not always large enough for all who are invited, as each guest has his train of followers. Such apartments of the house which can be conveniently spared for the use of the guests are cleaned; new carpets are laid. One kitchen

in the *haram-saray*, or ladies' quarters, and another, a much larger establishment outside, are made ready. The cooking for the wedding guests is done outside, while some dainty dishes are cooked in the *haram*.

A large structure like a pavilion, for musical entertainment, is erected in one of the adjoining fields. This is merely a temporary tent, with wooden beams, and is of extensive dimensions. The walls of this *shadi khana*—" marriage house " —as it is called, are made of thick and coarse cloth, extending from one pole to another ; the roof is supported by beams. The decorations of its interior are trappings of various colours, red predominating. At each pole is a cone-shaped globe, made of *abrack*, a thick, transparent paper like leaf gelatine or talc, and a coloured candle burns in it. There is a raised platform about five feet broad, and expensive carpets are laid on it, while white roller pillows add to the charm of the scheme of decoration.

The entrance is like an old Egyptian archway, and a red cloth leads to the centre of the platform. Here is the seat of honour—the seat where the leader of the family or the head of the clan is to repose. His seat is further made comfortable by placing two or three quilts on the hard platform, above which is embroidered velvet. The roller pillow is larger, of a different colour from the rest, and has tassels at each end.

At the gate of the fort are pipers and drummers who make loud clamour during the eventful period of three days preceding the ceremony.

One batch of these—objectionable disturbers of the peace—are posted on the roof of the fort gate. They begin, as a rule, before cockcrow.

One week before the marriage the bride seeks the solitude of her chamber, surrounded by her companions. She has to undergo a course of beauty treatment. Early each morning she is massaged with a paste made of almonds, aromatic substances, and flour and butter, and then has a bath. This operation is repeated in the evening. Meanwhile she is put on light diet.

Two or three days before the day of the wedding the guests begin to arrive, and the rejoicing begins. The pipers play at the gate, other musicians entertain the men, and a few women with their small tom-toms amuse the lady guests in the *mahfil* of the *haram*. The day before the marriage is one of great interest and extreme excitement. Supposing the wedding day to be the 10th, then in the early hours of the 9th all guests rise and have breakfast together; all make haste with it, for there is a function immediately after the breakfast. They are to convey the trousseau from the mother-in-law to the bride.

The procession is formed. A band of tom-toms and pipers leading, the tray carriers are in single file; then follow the head of the clan, the father-in-law, other elders of the clan, then the servants, and, last of all, the youths of the family, discharging their guns. The procession is made up of men alone; all ladies, in the meantime, are collecting in the hall where the

presents will be received. The mother of the bride, wearing an old garment, careworn and overworked, runs about, first in this room, then in the next, but knows not as to what she wants.

The trousseau-bearers reach their destination. The procession generally adopts the longest route; it is received amidst cries of "Blessings of Allah" and the like. The head of the clan opens the occasion with a prayer, and declares that it is the desire of the father of the bride's slave that these garments should be worn by the bride at her wedding ceremony. This is, of course, a matter of form, and the mother of the bride says—or rather mutters—something, which none but her own ears can hear, to signify that their wishes will be complied with. The party disperses with a closing prayer.

In the meanwhile the poor girl-bride is subjected to very severe beauty treatment. Some elderly ladies massage her face, wash and put oil and perfumes on her hair. The most cruel part of the toilet is the custom of *tar zaddani*—removing of the superfluous hairs of the face. This *tar zaddani* is composed of Persian words—*tar*, string; *zaddani*, art of beating—and it is effected in a curious manner.

A thin silken string is held by one lady, and brought in contact with the skin; a second lady pulls the thread out, and, giving it a spin with her index finger and thumb, lets it go. It strikes the skin. The spring motion pulls the hair out, and the position of the string is changed after each stroke. It is a very painful

operation, and must be performed on every lady whether she has these hairs or blemishes on her face or not. The face having been washed with warm water, without soap, is well powdered.

Then another ceremony begins—that of "bringing green grass." All the guests form a procession, led by the band and the head of the clan, and march on to a tract of green grass on the bank of a river or a small waterway. An old gentleman has a spade, which he carries on his right shoulder. He selects a place from which a patch of grass is to be dug out. The chief calls upon all to lift their hands for a short prayer, and he cuts out a small piece of the grassy earth, which is carried back. The custom is symbolical, for as the grass is green and fresh, so they hope that the young couple will always remain happy and prosperous.

This custom is called *sabza kandan*, from Persian—*sabza*, green verdure; and *kandan*, to cut. The piece of earth is placed in the bathroom of the bridegroom, and he will stand on this green patch while taking his bath before the marriage. It is now lunch-time, or banquet-time—for there is indeed no difference in any meals served during the wedding days. Each meal is at least of eight or nine courses. All dishes are laid out and the individual is left to choose as to which he may begin first; he may start with sweets if he pleases. Here is a menu: 1. *Nân*, bread. 2. *Shorba*, curry, with a large proportion of liquid, containing potatoes,

curry and meat. 3. *Qurma*, meat fried in butter with curry, onions and flavours; no water is added. 4. *Kofta*, round balls of minced meat fried in butter. 5. *Shami Kabâb*, flat minced cakes with a layer of slices of ginger, mint, etc. 6. *Biryani of Pallao*, rice boiled in meat and steamed (salt). 7. *Zarda*, rice (sweetened) boiled and steamed, currants, almonds added in it and coloured with saffron. 8. *Firini*, rice (thin pudding) like ground rice pudding (sweet). 9. *Maghût*, a sweet jelly dish, flavoured with rose-water and saffron. 10. *Shir Mâl*, round flat cakes, slightly sweetened.

The breakfast dishes are fried chicken and *samosa*, sweet puffs, *shir mâl* and tea; at the afternoon tea nothing is eaten.

After lunch, another call summons the guests to a ceremony. So-and-So is taking her presents to the bride; a procession is formed, and off they go. All say "*Khanaysh âbâd*"—"May this house be full and prosperous!" (Persian—*khana*, house; *ysh*, his or her; *âbâd*, be happy, full or prosperous.)

A second procession is already on its way when the call for mid-day prayer—*zuhr*—stops the proceedings. The time for *zuhr* prayer is between the hours of 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. All crowd to the mosques, and after an hour or so the ceremony begins again.

The bride is still confined to her room, and is being beautified. The old ladies in charge dress her and see her repeatedly in her wedding clothes before she is finally passed. Her tresses

are perfumed, her face powdered, her eyes are brightened, and, as a finishing touch, *sitâras* (stars) are stuck here and there over her face. These " stars," or beauty-spots, are small round discs, with a hole in the centre and a slit across. *Sitâras* are of various colours—golden, silvery, red, blue, purple and green. Crescents of the same kind are also used, and the shine on them produces a remarkable variegated effect. A cap is put on her head and a feather fixed in it.

The call of another prayer takes all to the mosques for *asr* (afternoon) prayer; the time of this prayer is usually reckoned between the hours of 4 p.m. and sunset. And after this they have to be present at the general gathering, when all members of the family have brought their trays of gifts. Sweets and dried dates are thrown over the guests by the bride's people. They all sit, men on one side and the ladies with their veils on the other. One by one they bring their trays; many pleasant remarks are made. " He is," one says in the midst of an announcement, " a rich man, *baba*." " *Baba* " is a word like " brethren." Others say: " Aha, this is why my uncle has been saving the gold," and so on.

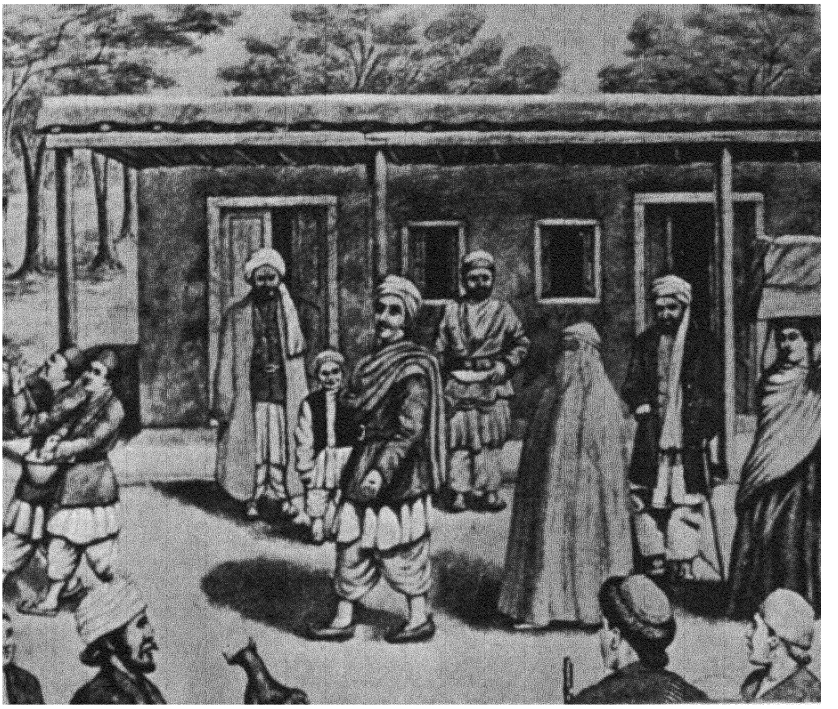
Someone has not brought his gift. He does not move to call for his trays. All look at him, the bride's father and mother feeling angry with their stingy kinsman. All at once he rises, throws his shawl over the bridegroom, and from under his huge coat brings out two heavy bags. He opens them and pours golden coins over

the bridegroom. Then all applaud, and he makes a speech to say that he is a poor man, and he would like to shower all the gold and jewels of all the earth over his relation's son, but perhaps they would gratify his humble desires by accepting what he has to give.

This function being over, afternoon tea is served. Those who care to retire may do so, and their meals are carried to their quarters; others have them together.

The financial strain of the wedding is in large measure placed on the bride's people. They have to erect the *shadi khana*, provide accommodation for the guests, and the number of the guests often reaches as many as a thousand people. The cost of the food is divided between the bridegroom's father and the bride's father.

We come to the next day of the celebrations. After the morning prayer the programme starts, the first item being the drawing up of the clauses of *nikah nama* and *mahr nama*. The first of the documents is a form of certificate of marriage by a *qazi*, and the second a legal document, in which it is clearly stated on what financial grounds the bride will stand during her married life and in case of her husband dying. Great divergence of opinion prevails in settling up the *mahr nama*, for often the demands of the bride's father are extortionate. Elders of the family intervene as a rule and arrange matters. In the marriage contract the husband may undertake to give his wife fifty rupees a month as pocket money, a certain



The wedding procession of Afghans in a humble station of life. The bride is walking home behind her husband, wearing a " Burqua, a cloak which covers the body and face.

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portion of land or a house which will be registered in her name; in the event of her husband's death she will receive 10,000 gold or silver coins. The *mahr*—a legal share—of the wife is of two kinds—*mahr-i-mu'ajjal* and *mahr-i-mufassal* or *muwajjal*.

The first of these is one which the wife can demand at any time from her husband, while the second falls to her only on the death of her husband. In cases of divorce the husband has to give up his wife's *mahr*, and she can claim it whether it be *mufassal* or *mu'ajjal*. All the obligations, it will be noted, are wholly on the husband's side; the girl's people do not commit themselves to any legal obligations.

An understanding being arrived at, a rough draft of the *mahr nama* or *qabala nama*, as it is sometimes termed, is given to the *qazi* to record on parchment. The marriage certificate presents no difficulty.

The wedding ceremony is conducted in the forenoon, or as early in the morning as 5 a.m. A grand concert amuses the guests, who sit up all night; not even the piper on the fort gate is allowed to snooze. Strict and parsimonious Afghans do away with singing and other frivolous customs and a *milad sharif* is all that may take place.

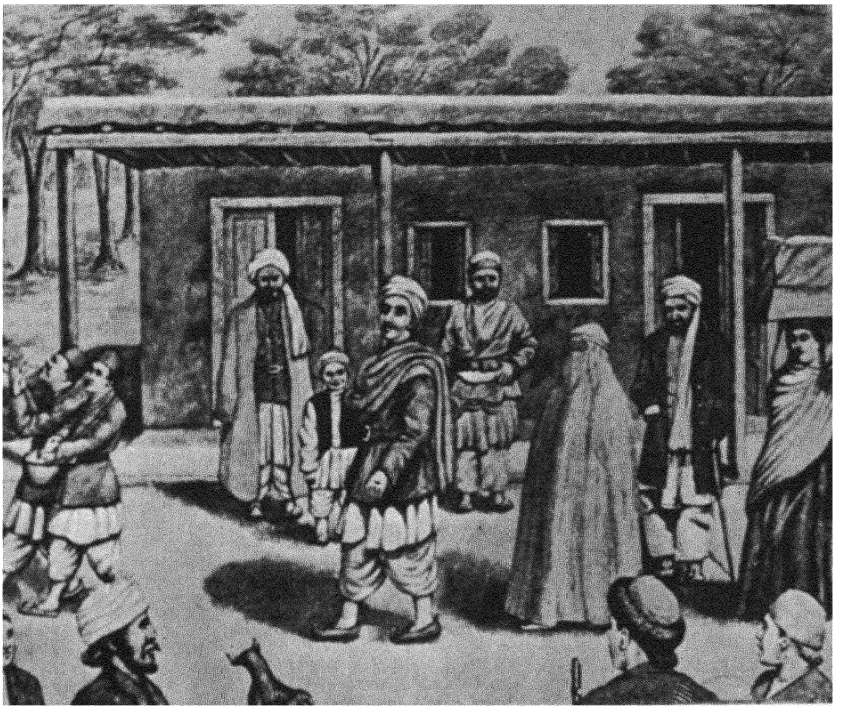
Milad sharif is the process of reading passages from books which deal with the birth of the Prophet Mahomed.

It is amusing to witness the watchful guests rousing before dawn those who have fallen

asleep so that they may put on their best suits and get ready for the wedding ceremony. Some refuse to be disturbed, and if a sound slumberer is rudely awakened by a spray of cold water blows may be freely exchanged. At dawn all is ready; the ladies, pale with fatigue, are arranged on one side and the men on the other. Then the bride is brought from her room, two ladies on each side of her, and she walks with slow and dignified steps to the " seat of honour." The bridegroom comes next and sits down beside her.

The *qazi*, with papers in his hand, stands up to speak, a hush having fallen on the gathering. " Sisters and brethren," he says, " I have here two documents, one the marriage certificate and the other *mahr nama*. Two gentlemen from the side of the bride and two from that of the bridegroom have asked the parties concerned in marriage whether they accept each other as husband and wife. Thrice they have asked the questions and thrice they have heard the bride and bridegroom say, 'I do.' The husband has agreed to sign the contract providing so much in his *mahr*."

This document being read and re-read, the *qazi* signs both papers. It also bears six, seven, or eight other initials, including those of the father of the bride, of the father of the bridegroom, and four *shahids*—witnesses. These witnesses must all be elderly men. Then the bride and the bridegroom put their names or the impressions of their left thumbs on the



The wedding procession of a well-to-do Afghan family. The bride is being taken in a covered litter to her new home.

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contract. This being done, all is quiet again, and the *qazi* or *mufti* (both terms mean the same) reads a chapter from the Koran, and those rules and regulations which are laid down in the "Traditions of Mahomed." Then a short sermon is delivered, which informs the young couple regarding their respective duties towards each other.

As soon as the ceremony is over, cries of "Be it ominous," "Be it lucky," fill the air, and the bride is conveyed to her chamber again, amidst showers of coins and flowers. The bridegroom retires to his own apartment. The *qazi* is given a *than*—a piece of cloth about thirty yards long—of gold cloth, some money, a turban, sweets and fruits; his work has been completed.

After the ceremony the bridegroom's mother takes charge of the bride, and all crowd to the bride's room, for another custom must be observed. Every lady is expected to come and see the bride unveiled, and give something in gold or silver into her hand as *runumagi*—the gift for seeing the beautified face of the newly married one.

Soon afterwards the bridesmaids prepare a place in the largest hall of the house for another ceremony, called *aina mushaf* (Persian—*aina*, mirror; *mushaf*, charming and beautiful face, meaning a mirror in which a charming face is reflected). This is, perhaps, the oldest custom in connection with the wedding ceremony. A mirror is placed before the bride, and the bridegroom is asked to sit on the bride's left.

A shawl is held over them, and the bride has to unveil and look in the mirror. Then husband and wife see each other's faces for the first time. It is, as a matter of fact, their first real meeting. The bride is shy and does not open her eyes, and the bridesmaids and others pass many humorous remarks, chaffing her freely.

A silver engraved bowl is then brought, with a little sherbet, and a plate of white rice pudding. The bridegroom is to drink a little of the sherbet and offer the bride a sip. Often she closes her lips tightly, but force is applied and a spoonful dropped into her mouth; so also with the rice pudding. Sherbet and rice must always be tasted first by the man. A shower of roses announces the termination of the custom, and when the bridegroom attempts to rise he finds he is held down to the floor, a corner of his coat having been sewn to the carpet while he was engaged in *aina mushaf*. At this there is a roar of laughter. The offender is found, and is probably a younger sister of the bride. She refuses to undo the stitches unless a gold coin is given to her. As soon as this toll is paid the bridegroom calls his attendants to bring his shoes, but it is found that one of them is missing. Someone declares that she knows who possesses the shoe and that it will be duly returned on payment of two gold coins.

The bridegroom is rescued from his tormentors after the payments are made.

Then he goes away and joins the concert of the merry-makers in the *shadi khana*. There

his place is a dignified one, for he sits on the right-hand side of the head of the clan. It is very amusing to see the audience of merry-makers. The old men occupy seats next to the bridegroom; the other seats are graduated according to the age. No employees are allowed to sit, and servants carry cups of green tea to whoever may want one. The elderly men are seen swaying from side to side accompanying a couplet from *molanay rum*, for they see the profound meaning in it. Some throw money to the singers. The youths on each side sit with gaping mouths and scribble down on the white floorcloth or pillow covers such couplets as strike them as particularly good, but they cannot read their writing when the concert is over. An eccentric old man yells out, with closed eyes, "*Baz bekham, baz bekham, sarad khub ast*"—"Sing it again, sing it again, your voice and the song stir my very soul." The song is encored again and again, till the singer gets stupefied and forgets the couplets. In this manner affairs in the song hall progress from hour to hour. In the small hours of the morning you find instead of enthusiastic lovers of music, clumps of snorting youths lying rolled in their voluminous *postins*, or fur coats. Some may have even used the carpets to keep themselves warm. The best singer has retired, and one who had already had two or three rounds is endeavouring to make people believe that his hoarse voice is musical.

At dawn comes another ceremony. It is

announced that the bride is about to depart to her mother-in-law's house. All are roused and make ready to escort her. If the house is not far distant the leader of the head of the clan carries the bride in his arms, but perhaps a conveyance is used for this purpose. They all help the bride to mount the carriage, with "*Bismillah*"—"With the name of Allah"—and "*Inan zamin*"—"Saints be her guards." The bride thus accompanied with an old servant and an elderly lady and her sister or a friend departs in tears from her mother's house. Her mother is weeping bitterly.

The bridegroom follows his bride on horseback attired in his nuptial garments, and others, also on horses, make up a procession.

The dress usually worn by the Afghan bridegroom is not gaudy. It consists of a white or dove-grey silk turban adorned at the end with a few vertical golden stripes. He wears a loose garment like a dressing-gown, called *jubba*, similar to that worn by the Arab sheikhs. It is of black velvet or serge; there is gold work on the cuffs and on the dorsal surface of the arm near the shoulder, and a big leaf is embroidered on the back. Not infrequently, however, all work of ornamenting the *jubba* is done in red or blue silk.

A *kamar-band* is tied round his waist under his *jubba*, and in it is inserted a curved dagger (Persian—*kamar*, waist; *band*, band, meaning a band for the waist). He wears white baggy trousers with a thousand folds, something like the kind favoured by the Algerians. The shoes

are most picturesque; they are like slippers; the toe-point is curved up and tapers to a thread.

When the procession reaches the other house, the bride is taken to her new apartments, where she will remain for two or three days. Then her mother will come to take her away to her paternal home for a week. Afterwards she settles down in her new home and unpacks her cases.

Her staff of servants is provided by her husband, with an additional *kaniz* (woman slave) or *ghulam* (man slave) from her parents. Her house is not a separate one. The cooking is done in one kitchen for the whole family of her mother-in-law. There are, however, private apartments for her husband and herself. At meal-times she has to be present at the family table. She becomes one of the family. An extra degree of bashfulness is considered a great quality among young maidens and more especially newly married women, and this quality is sometimes a drawback to them, for they cannot sit with others at the meals.

Messengers run from one house to another, from the bride to her mother and from her to her daughter in turn, at all hours of the day and night. Some enquire about the family; others fetch a forgotten workbox; a third runs for fresh vegetables from the girl's own little garden, and so on.

Tasty dishes and newly baked bread are sent on to the homesick bride. The husband goes out after breakfast if he is well-to-do and has an hour or two in his *karaiz* (field), or shoulders

his gun and goes to the woods to shoot. He comes home at lunch-time laden with all kinds of game. The wife is engaged in putting her house in order till *agha* (the master or husband) returns.

Two or three months go past, but the bride during this time is not allowed to visit her mother; her mother, however, can call and see her. In time a function is held, and after it the young lady has permission to visit her parents in the house of her birth. This is termed *pâ wazi* (Persian—*pâ*, feet; *wazi*, a corruption of *awazi*, meaning to open, to free), " freedom of the feet."

A few friends and relations are invited to breakfast by the bride's mother. They afterwards visit the bridegroom's house, and, reading the Koran and showering flowers and sweets, bring the young wife to her mother's house. There a feast is held, and all remain till *maghrib*, or evening prayer, when the same body of people escort the young wife back to her husband. After this *pâ wazi* she can visit her mother as often as she pleases, but on all occasions she has to receive the permission of her husband and mother-in-law, and they never refuse her.

The last section of this chapter deals with the passing of the Afghan from this life to the next.

Customs, Religious Rites, Ceremonies of Burials

As soon as it is known that a man is about to die—in African phraseology, the physicians have " declared their reply " (*jawab dadand*) that

the patient will not live long—the news spreads like fire, and relations begin to collect.

If the dying man has not made a will, he calls a *qazi* and dictates and signs one. The womenfolk dislike to hear of a will; the word is never uttered when anybody is unwell. It is equivalent to expressing an ill wish. If they enquire as to how the patient is, they generally say, "We have heard that the enemies of your husband are indisposed."

A dying man calls his sons, daughters, and wife to his bedside. He makes a short speech to them in which he wishes them good-bye, and advises them to live in peace and harmony as they have done during his lifetime. Then he places his hand on his wife's head and asks her to be considerate to her children, and appoints his eldest son as the head of the family. All weep most profusely. The dying man warns them—as a rule—that his soul will not rest in peace if they weep after his death or do not live together in harmony and peace.

When death at length comes, loud wailing resounds through the fort. Relations and servants weep profusely. Someone sits down near the dead person and reads the *sura yasin* (one of the chapters of the Koran). Other members of the family and clan come to join in the burial procession, and the house is soon quite full.

No one is allowed to go into the room where the dead person may be lying; a dim light burns there, and two or three *hafiz*, or chanters of the Koran, by rote read the *suras* in a low

tone, while all without is wailing and crying. Some are wrapped in mournful silence. A man is at once despatched to make the grave ready, another to bring white shrouds and incense and earthenwares. In a piece of ground in the family garden is dug a temporary grave, called *lahd*, and there the dead is washed and bathed. Then this grave is closed up and made green with turfs of grass.

Water-carriers and others engage themselves in the act of washing the corpse, and two or three near relations rub the body, while the water-carrier spurts water from his *mashk*—a goat-skin containing water. The big toes of the dead person are tied with a strip of white muslin, and a white sheet is carried right up to the head and knotted there. Benzoin burns all the time, and the *lahd* is curtained all round. Then the wooden frame, like a bedstead, is brought forward, a white cloth is spread on it, and the corpse, supported by six people, is transferred from the *lahd* board on to the bedstead. Two sheets cover the dead body, and the corners are tied at the ends by white strips, and then the *jenaza* (the funeral) preparations are completed.

A rose perfume is sprinkled over the *jandza*, no flowers are laid there, but in some families the outer cover of the bedstead is inscribed with verses from the Koran. The burial takes place as soon as possible. A short prayer, called *fatiha*, is read before lifting the bier, which is then carried on shoulders, the six

nearest relatives supporting the bedstead, one at each corner and two in the middle; no one goes in front of the *jenaza*.

If the dead is a woman, all the ceremonies are the same, but the washing, *ghusl* (Persian, bath), is done by a female of the family—usually the mother or some other elderly person. The bier is then carried from the female quarters to the courtyard, where the funeral service is performed.

When people hear that So-and-So is dead, they utter these sentences from the Koran: "*Inna lillaha wa inna alaih rajayun*" (Arabic, "We are owned by God, and to Him we must all return").

The funeral service is held in the courtyard or a field where large numbers of people may be able to pray. The bier is placed in front and all arranged facing it. The Imam, or priest, leads the prayer. All fold their arms, one over the other, round their waist, direct their gaze downwards at the words of "*Allaho akbar*"—"God is Great"—from the Imam, and a silent prayer is read for the peace of the soul.

When the prayer is over, the bier is carried to the grave, and all the mourners follow in procession, repeating prayers for the dead. The grave, which has been prepared beforehand, consists of a ditch six feet deep, with an underground chamber running to the right side, in which the body is to be placed. This chamber is called *baghli*, or caress.

It is the custom that if anyone meets a funeral procession in his way, whether he knows the person or not, he must accompany it for at least forty steps and repeat the prayer for the dead. If he is in a carriage or riding a horse, he must come down and join the mourners, and must not pass the *jenaza*, but wait till the procession passes, before he continues his journey.

When the bier reaches the grave, two men descend into the grave and the corpse is lowered gently and placed in the chamber. The direction of the grave is determined according to the situation in which lies the Holy City, Mecca. The feet of the dead man must be towards the west, and the head to the east, the face being towards Mecca. When the men come out of the grave, a short prayer is repeated by all who are standing round. Then the boards are placed in position and a mat laid over them and the earth thrown in. All the mourners throw handfuls of earth, and finally the grave is closed and a mound raised over it. A temporary gravestone is erected, and below it a small lamp burns feebly. Men are appointed to watch the grave, and, one or two Mullas having read passages from the Koran, the party wend their way back to their respective homes.

It may be mentioned here that in some cases the chamber in which the body rests is constructed of bricks and a space two feet high is left below the covering planks. It is believed that when the horn is sounded on the Day of Judgment all the dead will arise. It is desired

that when they awake their eyes will gaze at the Holy Kaba at Mecca. The space left above the grave is the height of an average man when he sits erect, as everyone will sit when he hears the last summons.

The chambers of many graves are not lined with bricks, nor are any structures placed over them, for some people think that the body will have a hard struggle in leaving the grave at the Blowing of the Horn if the graves are covered with cement and stones.

After the burial the chief mourners return to the house of the deceased. There the head of the clan addresses the womenfolk, counselling them not to grieve, for it was the will of Allah that So-and-So has died, and that his soul should be accorded Divine Acceptance. Then the party is asked to dine, and after a prayer they disperse.

The widow and the female relatives of the deceased wear no colours and no ornaments. Some widows never again use colours, but always appear in pure white, without ornaments.

Feasts called *jum'arati* (Persian, of Thursday) are held every Thursday, and mourners are invited to dinner and to read the Koran for the dead. Similar ceremonies are also observed on the fourteenth day and the fortieth day after the death. On the fortieth day, which is called *chahlum*, friends and relations come from far and near to join in the mourning, and all go to the grave to pray there. The women attend on this occasion. When a relation comes from

a distance to join in the *chahlum*—one who has not been at the burial ceremony—he shakes hands with all and expresses sympathy.

Chahlum being over, there is no other formal function till a year has gone past. Then the mourning called *sali* (Persian, pertaining to year, yearly) is held. All relatives go to the grave and spend a whole day there in mourning. The lamp-lighting takes place each Thursday for long afterwards, and a Mulla may be appointed to read the Koran regularly over the grave for a number of years. On Fridays after the prayer, people visit the graveyard and read a portion of the Koran and send blessings to the soul of their relatives.

On Thursdays, after *isha* (last prayer or night prayer), one may see a whole household sitting round the *lahd*, where the body of the dead has been washed. Chapters from the Koran are read for the benefit of the departed. The scene is one of great solemnity, and is very touching. The mourners read a portion of the Holy Texts, and pause with uplifted, beseeching hands. With deep reverence they first send the blessings of the Koran to the soul of the Prophet Mahomed. Then very tenderly, their sorrow sweetened by piety, they send heartfelt blessings to the soul of their own remembered dead. So do love and duty endure, for death cannot cause them to wither and decay.

CHAPTER IV

WITCHCRAFT AND NECROMANCY IN AFGHANISTAN

THE beliefs of the Afghans in regard to witchcraft and necromancy possess several points of interest. Witches are held to be in league with Satan, from whom they derive their powers, and a *saher* or necromancer is no true Mussalman, for, although there appears to be a belief in the existence of necromancy, he who practises it is a *kaffir* (infidel), and no true follower of the laws taught by Mahomed.

The Yogi from India and its borderland are known to be cognisant of the art of necromancy, and those who come in contact with them learn the nefarious practice. Yogi are, of course, Hindus, and, according to the belief of the Afghans, cannot call any superior beings such as angels and jins to their assistance, hence they rely on " Paleed," an unclean spirit.

Although it is averred that necromancy is rare in Afghanistan, the women in the backwoods of the country seem to possess knowledge of certain practices by which influence can be exercised over other minds. How they became possessed of it is hard to say; it is certain, however, that a class of " wise women " exists

in the country, who impart their knowledge to the rest. It is extremely perilous to a woman practising necromancy for any man to discover that she is so engaged, or even for men to hear rumours of her being thus occupied, for the result is that she is soon despatched " to the care of Satan's family in the Eternal Fires."

Witchcraft in Afghanistan assumes many forms and is often resorted to in cases where revenge is desired. To obtain this result, women mould crude dolls of wax, into which a pin is stuck each day. The effect believed to be produced by this action is to bring misfortune and disease on the individual whom it is desired to injure. Together with the pinsticking, the person seeking revenge burns some pungent substance, and holds the doll in the smoke whilst reading certain imprecations. Whosoever becomes an adherent of Satan and desires to practise witchcraft must renounce all religious observances and beliefs, and assume filthy habits, otherwise the charms will not take effect, and the Devil will take fright on hearing the name of Allah pronounced.

To subdue a husband or mother-in-law it is considered most efficacious to cause them to eat the flesh of an owl. Whilst the classical conception of the owl is that of the bird of wisdom, the popular conception, shared also by the Afghans, is the reverse. To be hailed as an owl in Afghanistan, as here, is equivalent to being called an ass. This has led to the superstition amongst the Afghans that the

constant administering to any person of the flesh of a roasted owl will result in the conquest even of the most intractable temperaments. But great caution must be exercised in the preparing of the fateful dish so as to escape detection, for otherwise the days of the woman responsible for it would undoubtedly be numbered.

In the case of a theft occurring in the house, it is usual for the women to seek to find the thief either through the services of a *Saher* or by taking the matter into their own hands and subjecting the household to a severe scrutiny in a manner to be presently explained.

If the *Saher* is employed, on the case being related to him he chants an incantation over some water, which must be used as a gargle by everybody in the house. It has no effect on the innocent, but causes the gums of the thief to bleed profusely.

If the affair is to be dealt with at home, the lady of the house takes an old slipper and drives a big nail through the centre; the shoe is then held by means of the head of the nail, and two women balance it on their index fingers. A circle is then drawn on the ground and the assistance of the Devil is invoked. The lady of the house strikes the circle with the fellow slipper of the one poised on the women's fingers, and whilst the servants and others stand before her in a row, she exclaims " Oh, Nona—I take the name of your husband and ask you who is the thief. Is it So-and-So or——" (naming names). If the shoe does not move on the mentioning of

a name, the owner is deemed innocent, and the process is repeated until, on the utterance of some name, the shoe moves, describing a right angle. This is considered to be a proof of guilt, and the detected thief is made to restore the stolen property. "Nona" is the name of a great necromancer, quite unknown to authentic history.

Some women have been known to send burning missiles, containing a curious medley of rubbish, to the homes of those with whom they have had a quarrel. The writer has seen one of these which failed on its mission and lay in a field. These missiles are formed of round earthen pots with narrow mouths and a capacity for containing about half a gallon of water. The pots are filled with rotten eggs, honey or syrup, lentils and small pieces of glass, sharp nails and powder of either lead oxide or carmine. The exterior of the pot is sometimes encircled with white chalk. This missile is doubtless intended to act as an explosive, and, if falling in close proximity to anyone, the glass and nails might inflict serious injuries. The mode of procedure in the despatch of these messengers of evil is peculiar. Either a necromancer or a witch is entrusted with the work. The pot having been prepared, is placed, on some dark night, in the centre of four cross roads. Certain charms are read over it, and the name and address of the person on whom it is intended to fall is also repeated. Upon this, the pot is said to rise in the air and travel towards the enemy's house, looking like a ball of fire in its flight.

Needless to say, it is much to be questioned whether such pots do actually fly and fall upon the houses. Necromancers work on the minds of superstitious women under their influence, and cause them to believe in the flight of such pots by sending up a *borj* into the air. A *borj* means a dome or heavenly body. Probably what really happens is that a witch—or, at any rate, a woman with the pretensions of exercising that ignoble calling—tells her clients that the pot will pass over their house at such and such a time, on such and such a night, and that if they look out they will see it flying. In the meantime she prepares a dome-shaped structure supported by very fine bamboo fibre, and covers it with fine red tissue paper. In the centre of this she fixes a bundle of rags which have been soaked in oil. The circumference of such a *borj* is often as much as two feet.

When a woman has made a balloon of this description, she carries it to some spot near her house, and lights a smoky fire, holding the balloon over it till it is inflated with smoke, then she ignites the rags and lets off the balloon. As it rises, the light of the burning rags gives it the appearance of a ball of fire, and the women, watching it passing over the houses, say that it is the pot on its journey to strike their enemy's abode.

Some men are known to undertake to harm a client's enemy on payment of a given sum. They go into the woods and take up their abode in some lonely spot where no human face is seen.

Here they employ themselves rigorously in chanting incantations to invoke the powers of evil. They say that one effect producible is to create *kulla pundee* (*kulla*—cheeks or face; *pundee*—from *pumdeedun*, meaning swelling). The face of a man against whom such a charm is exercised begins to swell. This increases day by day till, it is said, *pus* fills the cheeks and the man dies. Women may be heard imputing the illnesses of their husbands or brothers to the insidious charms of necromancers. Also, in the case of a death during or after childbirth, they say that a *kuftara* (a witch) caused the hæmorrhage which killed the patient.

Frogs are also used, especially by ladies of position, to bring harm or at least disfavour on other people. It often happens that a husband decides a quarrel between his wife and his sister, or mother, in his wife's favour; the opposing party naturally becomes jealous, and enchantment is frequently resorted to for the purpose of creating trouble between husband and wife. Two frogs, one male and one female, are procured. The figure of a black ox is painted on the back of the male specimen and a cow's face on the back of the female. Then both are tied back to back and placed in an earthenware pot which is buried amongst a heap of burning faggots. Soon the frogs are burned and reduced to fine powder. This powder effects the desired result, for, whenever this is thrown on any person without that person being aware of it, its effect is to turn away his or her affection from

whomsoever of the opposite sex has hitherto been most deeply loved. The heart of a sheep and the horns of a bull are also employed to attain the same object, but they are believed to be less efficacious.

So far I have dealt with the spells cast by *Saher*, pointing out that they necessitated the employment of *kalamatal kuffr*—words of infidelity contrary to the laws of Mahomed. The second form of enchantment known in Afghanistan is spoken of as *ufsoon*. This is in so far permissible that it may or may not be *kaffr* (unclean), for it derives its origin from Son " Samaree " who lived and practised the art in the days of Moses, and being associated with that prophet, it is considered less worthy of censure.

All that is ascertainable of " Samaree " is that he moulded a cow in silver and gold, and declared that he could make it speak. One day, thanks to the powers that he had gained by *ufsoon*, he saw the angel Gabriel alight from his horse and visit Moses in the Mosque, and deliver God's message. " Samaree " collected the sand from under the hoofs of Gabriel's horse, and on the following morning, having gathered the people together, he threw the sand into the cow's mouth, and the cow at once began to speak. " Samaree " hereupon led away the followers of Moses, making them believe that he had the power to put life into matter. Moses prayed to God, who commanded " Samaree " to be turned into a stone figure, which he would

always remain. This led to the warning to the descendants of " Tiflay Chihil Roza " (" Son " or " Child of Forty Days ") that they should always recollect the fate of " Samaree " if they ventured to entertain the idea of learning necromancy. Adam is termed the " Child of Forty Days " because it is believed that it took forty days to create him.

In Afghanistan, witches (or *kuftaras*) are said to be able to assume any form or shape. They dwell in lonely roads or under ground, where acacias grow. They haunt men, women, and children, and pursue them with the intention of devouring their livers and hearts. There are said to be several ways of recognising them. One is that they always seek to hide their faces ; if seen the face has the appearance of that of an old woman of about eighty. They have very large fiery eyes, many wrinkles, and hollow cheeks. Their teeth are very large and prominent. They entice little children from the villages to their dens and woodland haunts, and then pounce on them.

CHAPTER V

CHARMS, SPELLS, AND DIVINATION

A STUDY of the charms, spells, and divinations of Afghanistan seems to show that they are to a great extent the outcome of the religious traditions and old beliefs of the country, though, as is only to be expected, a large number are exotic and can be traced to Indian and Persian ideas. In the provinces of Herat, for instance, it is noticeable that the charms have a distinctly Shiatic character; in the north they bear marks of a Kirghiz origin, while in the east and south they have a strong Hindu and Baluch colouring. Kabul itself seems to be the meeting-place of the ideas and traditions of all these races. As in the case of superstitions, the women have borne by far the greater share in the perpetuation of the charms and spells.

The charms have, in most cases, been written by Mullas or Faqeers, and the people place an unquestioning belief and unflinching trust in them. The majority of them, which are called *taweez*, are passages from the Koran, though a few are invocations in the names of saints or pious leaders of sects whose lives are regarded as offering noble examples to their fellow beings.

In certain parts of the country the writing of

charms and spells is taken up by some Mullas as their profession, and, indeed, in the regions of Badakhshan and the country adjoining to Swat and Bonair in the north-east, this is their only vocation in life. In other districts, however, they add to their other qualifications a knowledge of medicine and take the place of the village doctor.

Only those disciples of the Mullas who win their favour by their obedience and by the proof they give in their lives that they are worthy to be entrusted with the secret art are initiated into its mysteries. In order to acquire the necessary knowledge, they must subject themselves to a course of self-discipline and abnegation, during which they must go through special forms of prayer known as *chillas*, meaning forty days' prayer, and observe certain rules of fasting. These rules vary considerably; in some cases the aspirants are forbidden to eat meat or eggs, in others they may eat lamb, but no fish or eggs. During this period, which is called the *wazeefa*, the aspirants must retire from contact with their fellow beings to a cell, where, in addition to the prayers already mentioned, they must recite, a certain number of times, such passages from the Koran or other holy writings as may be given them for the purpose by their Peer (or the spiritual leader).

As the days pass, the result of this self-discipline is manifested in the appearance of forms and apparitions, some in the shape of animals, others like ethereal beings that vanish

in an instant. These forms are said to mock at the student and try to frighten him, but he sits with closed eyes on his prayer carpet, and draws around him a circle called *diara*. So long as he remains within his *diara* no harm can touch him, but the minute he puts his foot outside the circle he will be destroyed. Such, at least, is the belief.

The efforts of these evil beings reach their climax on the day preceding that on which the *wazeefa* is to end. Assuming, therefore, that the *wazeefa* is to last for a period of eleven days, on the tenth day the student will be in a state of the greatest terror, for all the spirits of Jinii which he is to subjugate will be seated close to him, though outside the safety circle, in the most hideous forms of giants, lions, serpents, and other wild creatures, which it is possible to conceive. On the last night of the *Wazeefa* their craft and cunning will know no bounds, and they will leave no form of horror untried in order to frighten the man into abandoning the safety of his circle. If, however, he succeeds in resisting, and provided that he has faithfully fulfilled all the other conditions, these same fearsome forms will, at the end of the eleven days, or the stipulated time, kneel down before him with folded hands and receive his commands.

Each charm has a certain number of beings subservient to it. The severity and duration of *wazeefa* vary according to the power of the Jin, for the more powerful the being, the harder is the task of overcoming him and the greater the

command of the art required. In some cases the Mullas can send these Jins or spirits as their servants to perform tasks for their clients; in others they write a charm which is possessed of a curative value with regard to certain diseases; while in yet others the same power may be employed to bring harm to an enemy by causing his house to be burned, or bringing some severe or fatal disease or even insanity upon him. Many a good lady has invoked the aid of the charms to subdue her husband.

The *wazeefas* are divisible into two principal branches, the *jamalee* and *jalallee*. The *jamalee* pertains to ethereal or celestial light, and is consequently a mild form; its control is not difficult, and no real danger threatens the learner. *Jalallee*, on the other hand, is connected with wrath, anger, and severity, and is a much more violent phase of the *wazeefas*. Those, therefore, who wish to take it up must have great strength of mind, for the beings will make so many attacks, that, unless the student can offer an exceptionally powerful resistance, he will either be killed or driven insane. All the more important Jins and spirits are under the control of *jalallee*.

How far these people do actually perform what they profess to do is a matter which perplexes the mind of one who has been born and bred in this bed of charms and divination. One fact, at any rate, is undeniable. That is, that they are always on the look-out to take advantage of circumstances which may enhance their reputation; whether they have ever killed a man by the

mere force of a charm, or turned a husband into the romantic lover of the wife whom he hated, is very questionable.

Nevertheless, an unquestioning belief in the charms written by pious masters of art is pretty general in both sexes. Wrestlers fasten them in a capsule of silver on the left wrist in the belief that their power will carry them victoriously through all their contests. Women frequently sew them into their husband's garments when they go forth to fight ; this is, in fact, their most popular use, for the possession of such a charm is a sure protection against wounds. An oft-related story from the *Memoirs* of the late Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan may be recalled. The Ameer writes that once when he was reviewing his troops a soldier deliberately fired at him. The bullet passed through the back of his chair and killed a page-boy who was standing behind him. " I used not to believe in charms," said the Ameer, " but I owe my life to a charm which a Mulla had given me and which I was wearing at the time. I tested the efficacy of it by tying it round the neck of a goat and firing several shots at him, none of which hit him." I refrain from commenting on what the wise Ameer said, and leave it at that.

A bullet which has passed through a human body or has lodged itself and been extracted from muscle substance is very highly prized. It is, they say, saturated in warm blood, and if worn in a pendant will act as a protection against all unforeseen troubles and mishaps.

While it is quite easy for anyone to read or even write a charm, it will have no effect unless written by one who has undergone the prescribed course of discipline, and who, in addition, has received permission from a Mulla or person of equal standing to write such charms. The paper on which they are written must be kept folded, otherwise the beneficial properties will escape.

Ladies often hire the services of a man versed in the art to devote himself to the exercise of spells and charms, in order, by thus propitiating God, to obtain the blessing of a child. The man engaged for the work will either sit in a *chilla* in the cell of a mosque, or go down to the banks of a river to read his charms, or in some cases he may be allotted a room in his client's house, where he can shut himself up without fear of being disturbed. During this time the whole of his board and lodging, as well as clothing expenses, are paid by the lady employing him. Nor does the financial side of the transaction end there, for each week a number of goats must be provided to be thrown into the running stream as a sacrifice, while almost every day *neyaz*, or offerings of sweetmeats or fruits, must be made to the saints. After a prayer has been said, these offerings are distributed amongst the members of the family and the priest, who often retains more than half.

There is no doubt that these parasites influence the womenfolk very profoundly, and play upon their superstitious minds. If a *wazeefa* fails to obtain the desired object it must be repeated,

so that it is no exaggeration to say that these Mullas are more or less permanent dependants of any household which employs them.

On some occasions charms must be written with musk and rose-water and placed inside a new earthenware pot. It is then put into a room where no one but the priest is allowed to go; the mouth of the pot is closed, and for eleven days the priest must seat himself in the room after the last prayer of the day has been said and recite the charm one hundred and one times, or, better still, eleven hundred times. After each of these recitals he retires to bed without speaking to anyone; when the eleven days are over, the lid of the pot is raised and seven coins are discovered inside; two of these are given to the poor, the rest the priest retains for his own use. This procedure may be repeated one hundred and one times.

Should the *amal*, as this prayer is called, not achieve the desired effect, it is attributed to failure in adhering in some respect to the strict regulations regarding fasting and general behaviour while the *amal* is performed, or to the fact that permission to use the *amal* has not been obtained from the Mulla to whom it belongs; this last condition is essential to success.

Charms are frequently given as a means of relieving pain; in certain districts, in fact, they are the only treatment applied. When used for this purpose, a charm is burned and the vapour inhaled by the patient, while another is rubbed in water which the patient is made to

drink. To protect children from the evil eye a charm or two is placed in a pendant worn round the neck. On occasions of domestic discord a wife will often place a charm beneath a stone, when it is thought that the pressure of the stone on the paper will influence the husband's mind and render him obedient to his wife. When a man is setting forth on a journey, charms are fastened to his arms as a sure means of protection. If the journey is through water, and it is likely to be a long time before the traveller returns home, a large number of relations and friends come to bid him farewell; they tie charms or gold coins, wrapped in gorgeous silk, on his arms while one of them holds the Koran in his hand, and as the traveller steps out of his house he passes under the Holy Book and kisses it.

When, as often happens, a grave charge is brought against a man in the civil or military courts, a member of his family takes a vow to pray, on the bank of a river, for the acquittal of his relation. Each morning he goes down to the river, taking with him some dough made of a mixture of milk and fine flour. After washing himself in the stream he settles down to his prayers. At the end of each prayer he picks out a small piece of the dough, and rolling it in his fingers like a pill throws it into the stream. This procedure is followed every day until the heart of the judge, or of those upon whom the fate of his relation may depend, is so " softened " under the influence of a higher power that he

releases the prisoner. In cases of fatal or lingering illness, too, this is a common form of procedure, for it is believed that, provided the prayers are performed in strict accordance with the laws governing these charms, the invalid can be completely cured.

Like charms, spells are of two kinds—*nooree*, and *naree* (*noor* in Arabic means celestial light, *nar* means fire). The terms have their origin in the belief that God created the angels from light, Adam from earth, and Satan from fire. Hence any spells which take the form of Koranic words or passages are *nooree*, while any employed by the Jogees, in which they seek the aid of Satan's followers, are called *naree*. It is believed to be wrong for a Mussalman to learn *naree*, though he is at liberty to use *nooree* for the gratification of his desires.

The exercise of spells is not, as in the case of charms, confined to the Mullas or to those authorised by them, but may be practised by anyone who is a believer in Allah and Prophet Mahomed. They are chiefly passages from the Holy Book of the Moslems and their uses are quite as numerous as those of the charms. Nervous women recite them in order to give themselves confidence ; warriors read them before going into battle. They are recited, or, rather, muttered, over an invalid ; young children are never sent out without a spell being read over them by their fond mothers.

No dish of white pudding is ever eaten without *sura* " *la-ay-laf* " being read and puffed over

the dish; this is done to avert the evil eye of the servants or anyone who may have looked at the food in such a way as to cause disease to those who eat it. If a party in a boat is overtaken in a storm, passages are read from the Koran to appease the fury of the water. On a dark night a woman who finds herself alone has only to mutter a passage from the Holy Book in order to shield herself from all evil, and with a sword in her hand and a *sura* on her lips she can travel any distance without the slightest fear of being harmed.

Some people, in order to ensure the safety of their jewel casket, read a spell over it and then deposit it in a cupboard where they leave it in perfect confidence that it is proof against theft. Some women go so far as to claim that the fertility of their gardens is due to the spells they puffed over each plant. Both charms and spells are tied into the hair as a cure for headache. *Sura* " *qulhowulla* " is also read over the head of the patient while the forehead is massaged with the thumb and index finger, both fingers being brought together at a point in the middle of the forehead just above the nose and the folds of skin thus gathered being pinched with a smart twitch.

Throughout the country there is a strong belief in divination, and every province has its own particular saint or local *Mazar* to whom the people turn in time of need. The graves of Faqeers who have lived a life of piety and self-mortification are believed to possess miraculous

powers of granting the desires of those who honour and tend them. The most extraordinary stories are told of the graves of these saints, and even the trees which overshadow them are regarded by the populace as having curative properties. If a childless mother drinks a decoction made from the leaves of such a tree she is sure to be blessed with a child. In certain of the quadrangles of the tombs masonry tanks are built, the water from which will relieve pain of almost any kind. Indeed, faith-healing superstitions cling to everything connected with the graves of these pious men. Not infrequently women tie little bits of rag on the trees near the shrine and wish for something, at the same time vowing that if their desire is granted they will cover the grave with a new blue covering called *Chader*.

There are always a number of idlers who hang around these shrines, and earn their livelihood by fabricating stories regarding those who are buried there, investing them almost with the nature of a divinity and extracting fees from pilgrims and others who come to visit them. Many of the tombs in the Hazara districts have no roof, though the walls are high and the structure is frequently of stone. It is explained that the roof was pulled down by the saint himself, for during the first night it was intact, but on the second night the spirit of the saint wishing to ascend to Heaven and finding itself entombed forced its way up through the roof so that the masonry fell. Since that time the passage has been left,

and the saint's soul flows up during the night and returns during the day. It is said of one of these shrines that it lengthens two inches during the night and shrinks to its normal size with the return of daylight, though if the day is cloudy or wet it retains its abnormal length until the sun shines again.

Pilgrims or other visitors to the graves are given *taburruk*, or sacred presents, in the form of dates or other fruits or bread, or even some of the dust of the tomb or pieces of the masonry. These presents, which are regarded as having protective qualities, are carried about the person of the pilgrim. Not a few Kashmiri servants gather dust from the shrine of Mahmud of Ghaznee, which they sell by weight for a good price at Sarinagar.

In Badakhshan is the grave of a man of unknown nationality who is believed by some to have been a saint. It is said that he was fourteen feet in height and lived on the extreme edge of the earth. One night he dreamed that some people were digging a grave, and upon enquiry he was told that the grave was for him. The pious man ran to the other edge of the world, but once again he dreamed that his grave was being prepared. " How," asked the saint, " am I going to meet my death ? " In reply he was told that he would be stung by a scorpion. The Faqeer ran to the middle of the earth, and then, in order to avoid putting his feet to the ground and so encountering a scorpion, rode on horseback until he reached the northern part of

Afghanistan. Here he rested, and then, thinking to be safe from death's fatal fang, rode down the river in mid-stream. But his hour came, and a scorpion emerged from the hair of the horse's mane and stung him to death. Those who had heard his story, and had observed his virtuous way of living, buried him in Badakhshan, where his tomb affords relief to any who have been stung by a scorpion or bitten by snakes.

In certain districts faith in the efficacy of the graves is carried so far as to amount almost to grave-worship. It is believed that it is only necessary to make a request at a *durgah* (tomb of a reputed pious person) in order to obtain whatever one desires. At certain times of the year, usually during the winter, great ceremonial gatherings take place at the graves, called *urs* or *julus* (literally, a procession, but in connection with the graves it means commemoration of the saint's pious doings).

On the occasion of the *urs* a large number of adherents of the sect, to which the Peer (religious teacher) belongs, gather together, and tents are pitched to accommodate the disciples for whom there is no room in the building. Religious songs are sung, and as the music reaches its climax the Darwash work themselves into a state of frenzied ecstasy. The Mullas and all those who know the real meaning of the Islamic teaching have placed a ban on the practice of divination, which they call *bidat* (an Arabic word meaning an " introduction of ceremonies and rites which did not exist during the time of

Mahomed, and hence are not permissible "). Yet, in face of strong denunciation by the priestly class, the faith in the supernatural power of the saints' graves remains unshaken, and men and women alike cling firmly to it. The cult is particularly common in the part of the country adjoining Persia, where the grave of practically anyone whose history is unknown, or to whom a virtuous life is attributed, is endowed with miraculous powers.

Many people will sit down in meditation before a grave, and, by holding their breath as long as possible, derive inspiration from the saint. Superstitious women select a particular grave to which to make their offerings, and every Thursday night they either take or send a female servant with an earthenware lamp with a cotton thread as a wick which they burn at the head of the grave. Often sweets or flowers are taken as offerings, or butter or *roghun* (ghee) is burnt in a lamp instead of oil ; while some show their respect by having the grave sprayed with water during the summer months.

In wars between the clans the head of each visits the grave of a saint to obtain a blessing on the arms of his followers. Placing his rifle on the grave he invokes the saint's aid to victory ; then, taking it up again he leads his men to battle.

A curious idea prevails among the women with regard to the white pudding impression, or *punja*, as it is called. During the day of Shubbarat a part of the floor is plastered with

fine white clay and enclosed by curtains. A maiden lady makes a three-sided stage, on which is placed a big pot with a wide mouth. A pudding of rice is prepared in this pot, and when it is ready the lid of the pot is coated with a thick dough and the rice is allowed to cool. The lady of the house then presents the pudding as an offering to the Virgin Mary, Mother of Christ, and at the same time prays that she will grant the fulfilment of her request. During the ceremony no one of either sex is permitted to enter the room; if a man dared to step in he would be blinded by the smoke of the cooking. The pudding remains there, and if the woman's wish is granted it is accepted by the Mother of Christ making an impression on the smooth surface of the pudding with her left hand, so that a *punja* (impression of five fingers) appears. If the *punja* is seen, messengers are at once despatched to summon the woman's friends and female relations to take part in the eating of the pudding, for whosoever eats a portion of it will be regarded with favour by her husband. The ceremony of the *punja* of Muryum (Virgin Mary) is confined exclusively to women.

CHAPTER VI

THE SUPERNATURAL IN AFGHANISTAN

SUPERNATURAL beings in Afghanistan may be roughly divided into three classes —jins or jinii (old acquaintance of English readers through the *Arabian Nights*), ghosts or *urwahs* (souls of the dead), and fairies (*paries*) and giants (*dayoos*) ; and all have their different attributes. Let us say the jins are referred to in the Koran, and a Moslem is bound to believe in their existence ; so that in the East there is at once a definite religious sanction for belief in supernatural beings. It is, therefore, not surprising that simple imaginations have peopled what one may call the official supernatural sphere with beings which have no such sanction.

All the beings mentioned above are regarded among the Afghans with a certain amount of dread, the jins no less than the others. Although they have no power to occasion physical evil or harm, the idea of their appearance in the house is frightful to the womenfolk. They manifest themselves invariably in human guise, and usually as men, although occasionally they assume feminine appearance. The nomadic Hazara—who are of Mongol origin, and inhabit more the mountainous north-western districts—are perhaps more impressionable than other Afghan

tribes, and they believe that the *jinnat*, as they call them, are particularly attracted by handsome children. The proud mother of a pretty child will propitiate the *jinnat* by laying aside a portion of food for them, so that they may consider themselves as guests of the family, and refrain from interference with the little one. The reason why the jin is dreaded lies in the fact that it has a habit of " throwing its shadow " over living beings, the effect of which is mental derangement. Certain folk are immune from their influence, these being the *syeds*, or descendants of the Prophet Mahomed, who command the respect of all jins.

When the " shadow " is cast over a person, the victim shows symptoms of " possession." At a certain hour each day or every other day, or on Thursday nights, the jin " comes upon his beloved " or " mounts on his favourite," to use the popular expressions. Men are rarely the victims of this influence, the jins preferring charming maids, and married women if they possess the attractions of beauty and youth. The visitation is followed by the victim being seized with spasmodic fits, and, throwing on her veil, she roams about distracted and to all external appearance insane. The almost equally distracted parent or husband seeks the assistance of the nearest Mulla, and reports that " the jin has mounted over her head," but very little can be done for the victim until the attack passes off. It may easily be imagined, in view of the jin's partiality for beauty, how a crafty wife can

utilise this state of affairs to impress her husband or to secure from him a measure of affection which he has not exhibited; but the simulation of the symptoms is not to be lightly undertaken, and a sceptical husband will nip the little plot in the bud fairly easily.

The veritable cases—be it said that the symptoms are merely those of approaching insanity, and have no relation to supernatural influence—invariably reply to questions on the basis of jin influence. That is to say, an afflicted woman will claim to be the incarnated spirit of a *syed*, or Peer, etc., whose grave may be situated close by. He comes, she will say, to torment such-and-such a person, to punish her for placing a water vessel over the grave, or because she turned her back upon it, or allowed a dog to run across it. Though she be questioned fifty times as to her identity, her reply is always the same.

The *urwah*, spirit or ghost, is somewhat more formidable than the jin, for, although it cannot directly cause the death of a human being, it can so frighten a person as to bring about his physical dissolution. As has been said, the *urwah* is the soul of a dead person, and this kind of spirit sometimes remains in a state of perpetual restlessness, especially if that person has died in a state of uncleanliness and no burial prayers have been read over the body, as, for example, a man who may have been murdered and thrown into a ditch or well, where his body was decomposed. An *urwah* will frequent a tree, a plain, or a ruin,

but never visits inhabited districts, and never manifests its presence by daylight.

Some curious stories are current regarding the attributes of *urwahs*. A tale is told of one which stopped a Court wrestler when he was one night passing its haunts, a big tree. This *urwah* harboured a rooted objection to allowing anyone to cross its path at night, and it challenged the wrestler and bade him turn back.

" If you persist," it genially added, from a sporting impulse, " you will have to wrestle with the master of this tree."

The wrestler accepted the challenge, and there followed a tussle the like of which was never witnessed in Grecian, Roman, or Cumberland circles. The odds were certainly on the *urwah*, for the wrestler could not see him, although he could feel a body ; but it may be taken for granted that he did very well to make a draw of it after an hour or two with his invisible antagonist. This sporting spirit thereupon became very friendly and invited the wrestler to a dinner.

There are minor *urwahs* in Afghanistan which are believed to be able to assume any form, animal or human, and to change from one to the other instantaneously. They appear suddenly at night before the traveller in the favourite shape of a cat, a lamb, or a rabbit. In the regions near the Frontier it is related that once a man was driving home in his cart at a slow pace, owing to an accident to the harness. Presently he heard the cry of a lamb from an adjoining field, and, upon investigating, he found a new-born

lamb which (as he imagined) the shepherd had overlooked. He accordingly placed the lamb in his cart and proceeded on his way. But he had not gone far when he heard a strange sound from behind, and, on looking round, he was horrified to see that the lamb's hind legs had extended until they were some yards in length and were resting on the ground far behind the vehicle and causing the noise which he had heard. In his excitement at this weird sight he raised his whip and aimed a blow at the grotesque creature, but it descended upon nothing, so to speak, for the lamb suddenly disappeared, returning again as a rabbit, and finally as a cat, which unnerved him. With this the terrifying adventure ended upon a pleasant note of domesticity. It is somewhat interesting that, whereas in England only the black cat is invested with a certain superstition, in Afghanistan both the black and the white are regarded as *urwah*; they are not allowed to frequent dwelling-places, and, while a fight between two cats is a prosaic and perhaps amusing event here, to the imaginative Afghan it is a struggle between an *urwah* and a genuine cat, the latter being desirous of performing a duty to its human friends by advertising the presence of the spirit.

The *paries*, or fairies, and *dayoos*, or giants, form a separate class of supernatural beings, and have their home in the hills of Kahay Quaff or the mountains of the Caucasus. Both are endowed with the power of flight. The *paries*

are remarkable for their beauty, while the *dayoos* have horns like oxen and somewhat lengthy tails, and their skin is no less thick than the hide of a bullock. The *dayoos* wear no clothing except a girdle around the waist, and their principal function seems to be to guard the *paries* from harm. These fairy-like creatures are dressed as women, in red or green, and have either white or sallow-brown complexions. In stature, it is curious to note, they are not smaller than their mundane sisters. It is generally believed that they often visit the gardens in spring and summer, and hold very elaborate feasts and musical gatherings in such parts where they may be sure that they will not be disturbed by prying human eyes. Many a shepherd and woodcutter has been awakened in the night by their enchanting music. Some have been even fortunate enough to see them, and they aver that the *paries* sit in a circle around the queen, who is seated upon a *tukht*, or elevated platform, while attendant *dayoos* keep watch and ward.

There have been some unfortunate Peeping Toms who have ventured into the home of these creatures and have paid the penalty of their curiosity with their lives, for the *dayoos* have caught them and torn them to pieces. Those who have seen them in safety on their festal visit have viewed the proceedings from the branches of a tree, or have hidden themselves behind the trunk. They tell us that at dawn the music ceases, and the whole company take to the air. The queen's attendants lift her, and

the others follow until all are lost to sight on their aerial journey to Kahay Quaff.

Both *paries* and *dayoos* are regarded with a certain concern, for they have a keen eye for human beauty. For this reason the mother of a pretty girl will not allow her child to sleep in the open, for fear that the " shadow " may be thrown upon her—the " shadow " in this case meaning that the child would be spirited away to Kahay Quaff and there metamorphosed into a *parie* and retained as a companion of the queen. This is not, however, the only trouble which a pretty girl brings upon her parents by reason of her beauty, for if the *paries* once notice her and fail to secure her, they will haunt the house in hordes. For this reason mothers do not permit their daughters to wear clothing of distinctive colouring, so that they shall not attract attention.

There is yet another class of spirits which may be mentioned. These are the souls of pious men who visit the earth on certain nights. A well-known Afghan tale is that a man once fired at a deer and wounded it in the leg. The animal was not so severely injured as to be unable to fly from the hunter and a stern chase ensued for many miles. At length the deer disappeared in a clump of bushes and the hunter left his horse and followed. To his astonishment, he encountered, not the deer, but an old man dressed in a flowing robe, who was wiping blood from his leg.

" You have fired at me," he said to the hunter, " and see, you have wounded my leg."

The hunter fell unconscious, and when he recovered he found himself alone, but near him was a grave.

The popular belief is that the spirits of the *syeds* (the word is here used somewhat loosely, in the sense of a pious man) assume any form whatsoever, and roam about in forests and plains. Their favourite shapes are those of deer and pigeons. The latter birds are regarded with some veneration, the idea being that they are continually at prayer: for the sound they make is similar to the Arabic word—*Ya ho*—for God, or at least one of God's attributes. It is because of the association of deer and pigeons with the spirits of the holy departed that to shoot them is discouraged, although only one deer among many herds may be the incarnated spirit of a *syed*.

In addition to their appearance as animals, the souls of the pious also assume a human shape, and on Thursday nights walk in procession from their graves to visit other burial-places by fixed routes, returning at dawn. Many have seen the white-robed and white-bearded cortège of skeleton figures silently moving at dead of night. A variant of this belief is that figures do not appear from the graves, but brilliant lights instead, which form into a procession and glide along. The *shahada*—the martyrs, or those who have fallen in the cause of religion—join this procession of spirits in their worldly clothing, for no *kaffun*, or white shroud for the dead, is wrapped about the *shahada*, who are buried as

they fell, with the stain of blood still upon their war garments. In the eyes of the Afghan, no death is so glorious as that of a *shadeed*—martyr (the singular form of *shahada*)—and wherever in war the faith of Islam is involved, no soldier grudges his life. Those who perish are *shahada*, while those who survive are *ghazees*, or the "gallants alive."

CHAPTER VII

POPULAR SONGS AND SAYINGS OF THE AFGHANS

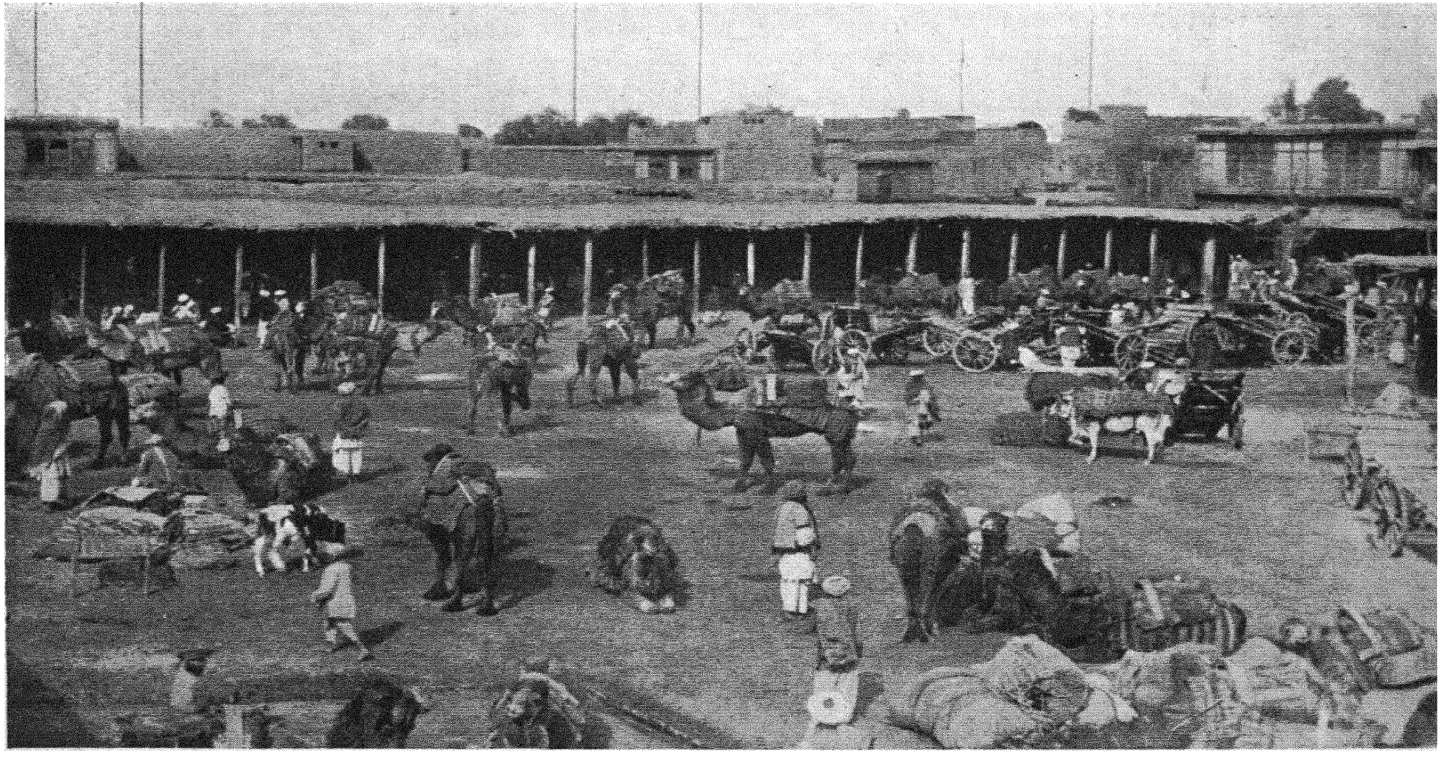
THE simple questions of childhood have often resulted in additions to knowledge; they make us think; they command us to explain, and explanation is the basis of philosophy. In the folk-sayings, songs, and stories of Afghanistan there is evidence of the value of these questionings. The answers are not always scientific, but they reveal in the ancient mind the workings of the imagination, and these workings lead to progress, both material and moral. Much of the morality of the old and new Afghanistan may be learned from its folk-lore.

When children ask why bears, elephants, and other animals are created, they are told that these animals were once human beings, and they have been changed, or, as the Afghan term has it, are *muskh*. The creatures that come under that word *muskh* are thirteen in number, who have existed previously in the form of men and women who did not abide by the moral and religious laws, and were metamorphosed by God. They are the elephant, bear, rabbit, scorpion, fox, tortoise, crow, dove, sparrow, mouse, owl, pig, and porcupine. Their faults were cruelty, theft, false oaths, change of faith,

pride, embezzlement, drunkenness, and the mouse was a woman who used to weep aloud. In the nursery tales, stories such as the following are related :

" There was a crow which had a nest under a huge rock, and, whenever the young ones were hatched, a snake used to come and devour them. For a very long time the crow did not find any place where her eggs might rest in safety, and the snake was by far too powerful to battle against. At last she related her misfortune to a friend of the family, whose name was Jackal. The animals of the hills placed great faith in the cleverness of Jackal, who was looked upon as a sage full of craft. The crow was advised to await a time till the snake was asleep, and then it would be possible to prick his eyes and blind him. But the snake slept in his hole, which was quite out of reach.

" The wife of the Jackal was reputed to be even more astute than the Jackal himself, and, when she was admitted to the council, she suggested that the crow should fly over the houses of the people in the adjoining village, and when she saw garments hanging out to dry she should pick one up and hover over the house. The crow approached a house and saw an old woman hanging clothes in the sunshine. It descended from the air and picked up a light piece of drapery and flew upwards. The people ran after it but the crow winged her flight to the hills and dropped the garment over the snake. The snake sat on the cloth and the people killed



The Caravan-Sarai, at Peshawar where the Central Asian Caravans meet on their way to and from India.

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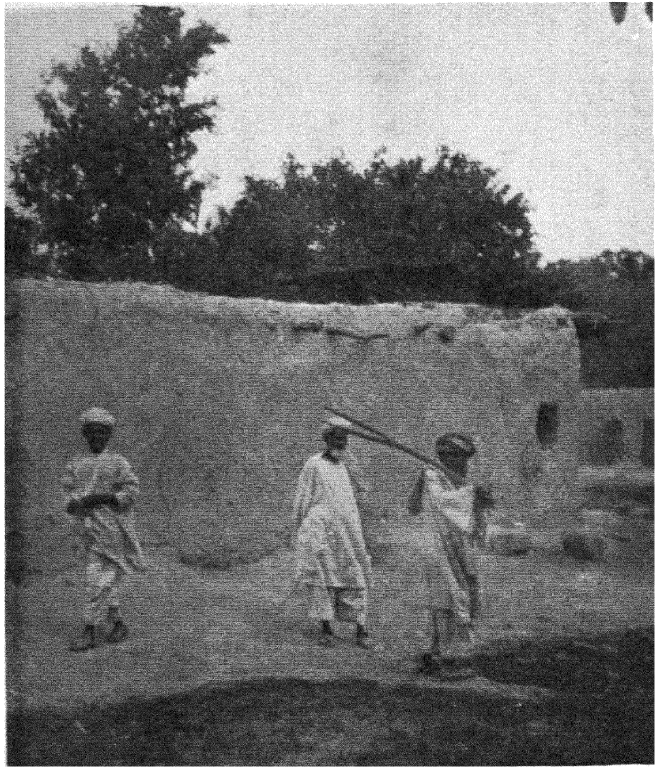
him to regain the garment, and so the crow was always safe from the fatal fangs of her neighbour."

A story on similar lines is related of the fox who started off on her evening round to hunt stray hens and ducks. She reached a garden, and, looking through the chink of the door, saw a cock picking a worm under a tree. "Ha, ha!" said the fox to herself in glee, "I have not to go far to search for my food; here is a fat prize for me." She jumped over the wall, and was in an orchard where the boughs of the trees drooped with the weight of the pomegranates, and was just going to pounce upon the cock when a gentle breeze rustled through the boughs of the trees, making a noise like the beating of a drum. The fox could not account for this, and, looking up, she saw a big round thing like a duck sitting amongst the branches. The wind once again moved the two handles of the drum which the farmer had fastened up to frighten the birds off, and once again came a sound from up the tree. The cock was frightened, and ran away, but the fox thought that the cock was not worth running after. "Surely," said she, "the animal or the bird which makes such a noise and is so plump must afford me greater relief in my hunger." She climbed the tree and with force caught the drum in her arms, but on striking it she found that it was hollow and that its covering would give no nourishment, being only dry and parched hide; thus the greed of the fox brought her nothing.

A moral aspect is given to the story regarding a snake and a blind man :

" Once, two friends who, as they thought, had an insufficient share in the good things of their native city made up their minds to go away from their own country and seek employment. One was a blind man with a talent for music but vicious in mind, the other a youth skilled in the craft of carpentry and of frank disposition. By and by they became great friends, but the blind man never trusted the carpenter, thinking that the man with eyesight would try to take advantage of the blind.

" They purchased two horses, and one morning bade farewell to the place of their birth. They travelled in the hot sun, and at the close of day they rested on a bank of a river and fell fast asleep. In the morning the blind man groped for his whip with his hands, and his fingers encountered a soft and perfectly smooth thing that he thought was like a whip. ' This is a grand whip,' said the blind man ; ' someone has forgotten it and taken mine, but it is a good bargain and I shall keep it.' When his friend returned with the horses he informed the blind man that he was holding a snake in his hand. But the blind man thought that the carpenter was going to cheat him of his beautiful whip, and he would not throw it away lest it be a ruse on the part of his fellow traveller, who would pick it up and use it for himself. No solicitations of the youth would convince the blind man that it was a snake, and they mounted their horses.



Afghan farmers.

King Amanullah Khan at an unofficial garden party.

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The sun blazed, and when the coolness of the morning had gone the blind man whipped his horse with the snake; the snake bit him, and the blind man fell off his horse and lost his life through mistrust."

Speculation as to natural phenomena arouses the imagination, and explanations are forthcoming.

In the neighbourhood of the eastern borders of Afghanistan, especially near Kurrum Valley, there is a stony plain which they called Raghzas. The stones are black in colour and are not at all like the stones which can be dug up from the hills around. It is probable that a long exposure to the atmospheric conditions has brought about this black deposit on the surface of the boulders, for when cut, or the coating is scraped, the whitish-grey stone can be seen. They name this plain Dozukhee Kanrai (stones from Hell), merely because of the foreign nature, and also they associate this blackening with all the wiles of Satan. The belief is that a fierce fight once took place between the angels and Satan's followers in the plain, and the Devil hurled the huge stones from Hell during the conflict.

Sometimes an historical explanation is given.

There are some mounds of earth outside Kabul which were preserved as relics, and called Toda (mounds or heaps) or Khakay Bokhara (earth from Bokhara). The story related about these mounds is that the army of Afghanistan had been defeated, and had to fly for their

lives to the city of Bokhara, in Turkestan. But they soon returned with the object of recovering the capital, and, short as they were of rations, each soldier filled his knapsack with half sand and earth, and the other half with grain.

They stormed the city and captured it, and, when entering Kabul, the soldiers were ordered to empty their bags at the gates in commemoration of victory.

Nicknames are manifest of the association of popular ideas with character. They are freely indulged in on occasions when ladies have something uncomplimentary to say of others of their own sex. They say that such-and-such is a *tota chushm* (*tota* is parrot, and *chushm* means eye). The phrase stands for a person with an eye like a parrot, and signifies immodesty. Another popular term is to say that a man has a heart made of glass, signifying that he is a coward or soon discouraged. He is spoken of as *sheesha dill* (*sheesha*—glass; *dill*—heart). A hypocrite is called *gurgay atashee*—wolf of fire—and fire here is associated with the fire of Hell, hence a follower of Satan. Meekness of disposition is regarded as a praiseworthy quality, and one with a mild temperament is called *gurbay miskeen* (*gurbay*—a cat; *miskeen*—gentle). A spiteful man will be called *shutar keena* (*shutar*—camel; *keena*—spite or revenge), and it is well known that a camel will keep his spite for years, and will await an opportunity of harming and taking his revenge. No one is ever forgiven by a camel.

In praising any one person in a procession, they will sometimes say that the man rode on his horse as would a *Faghfooray Cheen* (King of China). The King of China is believed to be very rich, and whenever he appears in public there is a good deal of ostentatious show. *Faghfoor* is a combination of two words; *Fagh* is a name of a Chinese divinity, and *foor* means "son of," the whole meaning being "Son of Fagh." The explanation goes further to indicate that the parents of this King have prayed to the idol that if a son were born they would name him after their divinity. A son was blessed to them and consequently his name was *Faghfoor*.

Charon, of classical mythology—the son of Erebus and Nox, whose office it was to ferry the souls of the dead over the Styx—occurs in the sayings of Afghanistan, inasmuch as when they speak of a wealthy man, or wish to convey a notion of riches, they say that such-and-such a person is as rich as a Quarun, meaning thereby that he had collected his money through unlawful means, for Charon, as they understand it, has grown rich from his mean profession of lifting the tongues of the dead and taking the gold coins from beneath.

The Afghan sayings are very varied in kind; in some of them moral teachings are so intermingled with the fighting spirit that it is difficult to say whether a saying was uttered in a mosque or on a battlefield. But all the same, they are pithy and portray much of the life of the hills.

Women form one of the three essential factors and causes for which an Afghan would fight, the other two being liberty and money. No one will ever stand a reflection which may be made on any female of his clan, for the female respect is regarded as the nose of the Afghan nation. Yet henpecked husbands are the butts of humorous remarks. A proverb runs :

> A tortoise is no fish, though it swims,
> Nor a bat a bird, though it flies.
> So a henpecked man is no man, though
> he wears male garments.

Moneylenders are much despised, and their life is always in danger, even though the law protects them. On a dark night if a moneylender is seen out and there is no one watching, his fate is sealed, and the poor man never returns home. They say :

> To protect yourself against a thief, take a stick.
> To protect yourself against a moneylender, take a
> sword and watch his movements.

Many other good sayings are plentiful : " The throne for the Ameer, the scales for the merchant, the plough for the farmer, and the sword for an Afghan." There are some people who are more indulgent in religion than others and say : " The *Farungees* in their religion and we in ours," meaning that they desire to live in peaceful harmony, and without intolerance as far as the religions of other people are concerned. " *Farungees* " means white, a changed form

of "Frank," and is a general term for all Christians, especially English.

Some of the philosophers of Kabul have said "God is in a Palace of Truth, and there are many roads leading up to that palace." "Every sect and religion in its essential teachings is a path to the Palace of Truth; the only difference is that some roads are tortuous and long, others short and easy." Another saying prohibits over-indulgence in singing and dancing, whence it is said "Song and dance are Satan's daughters."

As to songs, in the better class they are from the Persian Hafiz and other classical poets; the vernacular of course is Pushto, and the uneducated class have their melodies in this language. They may either be love-songs or moral and other thoughtful ideas in rhyme. A Persian couplet is:

Ma durchay khialaimo faluk durchay khail:
Ma kham khialaimo faluk pukhta khial.
We think one way and heaven another:
We are of immature ideas, and the decree
of heaven is wise.

This used to be a favourite song of H.M. Ameer Habibullah Khan.

A love-song in Pushto may also be quoted:

Zakhmay pa gham khenast yam
Da hyran pa khataro
Zarahmay pa mangul khee
Chinan raghla kharo.

Wounded with a dagger of separation, I am
Sitting silent in grief. To-day when she
Came near me, in her hands she took away
My heart like a little star.

There are no Afghan war songs. *Nara* (loud cries) of "*Allaho Akbar*"—"God is Great"—are the only vocal accompaniment of a charge, though sometimes *nara* of "Ali" are also shouted out in the ranks, as "Ali, Ali!" or "*Ya*, Ali!" ("O Ali!").

Some of the Afghan sayings and proverbs are terse. The vices and virtues are dealt with. Hypocrisy is well indicated in the phrase:

"Under his arm the Koran and his eye on the bullock."

"Like a mad dog he snaps at himself" and "You cannot clap with one hand alone" illustrate bad temper.

Courteousness is beautifully expressed:

"Be it but an onion, let it be given graciously."

Decision and resolution are contained in the advice:

"Do not take hold of sword-grass, but if you do, grasp it tight."

Industry is somewhat equivocally dealt with in the short phrase:

"Whoever loves, labours."

Some other sayings are proverbial, as:

"Doubt destroys faith as salt does honey."

"God will remain, friends will not."

"Parents say: 'Our boy is growing'; they forget that his life is, in reality, shortening."

An Afghan will on certain occasions say: "Is the Ameer dead that there is no justice?"

"Though God is great, yet He sends no rain from a clear sky."

" Though your enemy be a rope call him a snake."

" The ungrateful son is a wart on his father's face. To leave it is a blemish ; to cut it a pain."

" Shoes are tested on the feet, a man on trial."

" When the knife is over a man's head, he remembers God."

" A frog mounted on a clod and said that he had seen Kashmir."

" If a mouse were as big as a bullock, it will be always the slave of a cat."

" To say ' *Bismillah* ' brings blessing, but not in wicked pursuits."

Our silver lining to every cloud is reproduced in :

" Though the clouds be black, yet white drops fall from them."

Love of riches in old age is denounced in the following :

" O Greybeard, thou eatest earth ! "

CHAPTER VIII

HERO TALES

RECENT stirring events have proved that the hero belongs to no particular age or period in history, while hero-worship is as much a vogue to-day as ever it was among the ancients. Hence stories of heroic feats will always command an audience, and the interest is scarcely lessened even when the hero belongs to the realm of mythology. Indeed it is to the classics that we look for inspiration, and doubtless without these examples the world would have been poorer by many a gallant deed. These Afghan hero tales for the most part are from the Persian classics, though not a few have been imported by Arabian travellers, and are all more or less tinctured with strong religious sentiment. Take, for instance, the stories related of Rustum who was a wrestler of extraordinary powers, and whose tragic fate has furnished the theme for the poetical genius of Firdoosee, the celebrated Persian scholar in *Shah Nama* and *Sikunder Nama.* It is said that Rustum, in the good old days of the distant past, was employed by a Shah of Persia as a prize wrestler. His powers were such that, although matched against the most famous wrestlers from foreign lands, he almost always came out victorious in the

Shah's arena. Far and wide his renown spread until one day a challenge was received at the Court from a youth of an unknown nationality who was anxious to pit his skill and strength against Rustum. The Shah caused the youth to be brought before him, and in due course the contest came off, the conditions being that the vanquished was to be put to death by the dagger.

Rustum's rival was beaten, and, as the dagger was thrust in his side, the hero of the conflict recognised a pendant which the victim wore. It was a pendant which Rustum had given to his long-lost son years ago. He begged for *nosh daroo* (Water of Life) from the King, but it reached him too late, and Rustum's son bled to death in his father's arms.

This tale as related here loses much of its charm, and one may almost say most of its real significance. For the Persian poet is a master of descriptive art, and in his descriptive scenes at the Shah's Court of the excitement in the arena, of battle marches and the like, he paints pen-pictures such as none before or after him have succeeded in rivalling. His verse story is in main a hero tale, yet the poet has not restricted himself to chivalry alone; he has depicted for us a vivid picture of life at the Court of his period and the manners of the people. The book is valuable for its great literary merit, and the author has the real gift of imagination. He is worthy of a high place on the long scroll of hero-worshippers.

Among many others related by the same author, the following tales may be quoted :

The fourth Khalifa Ali was known to fling himself on the field of battle wherever he saw that the fight raged in the greatest fury. The battles of his day were won by skilful swordsmanship and valour, and Ali was well versed in all the arts. One day, in the thick of the battle he saw that a clump of fighters did not diminish ; when one fell his place was instantly taken by another comrade. Ali pounced upon them with his famous sword, " Zulfaqar," scattering his foes like chaff before the wind, and the battle was won solely by his singular quality of bravery.

One of his friends asked the Khalifa why he endangered his life in this manner. The reply of the " Assad Ullah " (Loin of God) was that there were two days on which no man ought to fear death. The one day when it is not coming to him, and the other when it is destined for him. In either case there was no object in fearing death. Ali had received the " Zulfaqar " from the Prophet Mahomed, after the battle of Badar. It was awarded to him in recognition of the heroism which he displayed on that occasion, and ever since, in all battles, this sword had played havoc with his enemies.

This fabulous weapon was reputed to possess qualities by no means small. It lashed on hostile heads like forked lightning, cutting off scores of heads in the twinkling of an eye, rent asunder huge trees, and was capable of halving horse and rider into two equal portions. The

name of "Zulfaqar" has its origin in Arabic, *faqar* meaning the discs of the spinal column, otherwise notched or dented. This sword was indented only on its blunt edge, but some Persian-manufactured swords, said to be of the pattern of the sword of Ali, have both edges sharp. This, however, is an erroneous interpretation of facts.

Once a nomad tribe of negroes invaded the fertile lands of Yeman and laid waste the prosperous cities of that country. Homeless and without followers, the King of Yeman took refuge in the territory of Noshairwan, of Persia, and sought his assistance. The Shah commanded that a corps composed of beggars and inmates of the prisons should at once be formed, for the service of the dethroned King. This band of raw recruits then set off for the shores of Arabia, to the number of eighteen hundred men, and moved onwards to face the negroes. It was ordered that all the boats, and all the provisions of the Yeman army, so hurriedly formed and so crudely armed, should be destroyed on landing.

Then the King addressed his followers, telling them that they had come to avenge the wrongs committed by the negroes, and to wrest from them the kingdom which they had stolen from him. By his orders all means of escape from that land to the land of Noshairwan were destroyed, and nothing remained for the invaders except what they could take from the

negroes. These tactics would probably be regarded with suspicion in modern warfare, but the King of Yeman could afford to take risks. He was, however, fully justified by events, for the prisoners and beggars who swelled his ranks shouted out that they were with the King of Yeman who had so miraculously devised their freedom. Then the battle commenced. They fought against overwhelming numbers; with splendid courage battled against the fearful odds; till at last they won back the land from the negroes, and secured their own liberty, and settled down in Yeman.

A large army of invaders threatened the life of Yakoob Lass, and he called upon his people to arm themselves and check the rapid advance of the cruel enemy who threatened to reduce their fertile country to a heap of dust and ruin.

Now the people of the kingdom ruled by Yakoob Lass were a degenerate race, fond of luxury and evil living, and they paid but little heed to his calls. They made all sorts of excuses for refusing, but refuse they did, or most of them.

But Yakoob had a few faithful adherents, and these he ordered to be ready under the walls of his castle, from where he promised he would lead them out to meet the foe. It so happened that at the hour he fixed for starting the sun was in a fierce full mid-day blaze. The population of the town gathered about the walls of the city

and wondered at the King's folly in starting for battle at such an unpropitious moment. But the King, clad in armour of steel and totally impervious to the criticisms of his courtiers duly appeared on the balcony at the appointed hour. To the sneers of the Court were added the wise words of the astronomers, who announced the hour to be unlucky to start, and suggested that the " Star of Fortune " would not appear for another eight hours. The King, not heeding them, remained standing in the sun ; though his armour burnt like fire, he would not leave the balcony, but insisted on maintaining that position until the ominous moment had arrived. He stood thus for four hours or more, then mounted his horse, and rode away ahead of his faithful troopers. The people were much impressed by this act of self-denial on the part of the King, and soon, he found to his joy, the number of his followers had increased to thousands, and returned victorious.

One of the Viziers asked a King as to where they should find him if he happened to be missing in the battle. He replied :

" If we are defeated you will find my head under the hoofs of my horse. If we are victorious single out the standard-bearer and you shall find it is me ! "

Someone asked Alexander the Great as to what characterised a hero. " He is the hero," was the answer, " who does not ask the number of his foes, but asks as to where they are."

A rich man who owned a slave became very ill, and promised to give liberty to his slave should he recover. After a few days his illness abated, and in a month he was quite well. But he liked the slave so well that he would not part with him. Again, after a time, an illness more severe than before confined him to bed, and once again he avowed that he would free his slave if he got better, but the fury of the disease increased every hour, and at last he sent his slave to fetch the doctor. The slave obeyed, but, returning without the doctor, was interrogated by his master why he had failed in his mission.

The slave replied: "The doctor says that his medicine will do no good to any man who does not obey his orders, and who makes promises which he does not fulfil." The master quickly grasped the meaning of the message, promptly told the slave that he was free from the fetters of bondage, and could go wherever he liked. The rich man was again hale and hearty, while the slave continued to serve him faithfully as his servant.

Abul Hasun Nooree had become a dread to the debauchees and loose livers of a certain country, and made it his rule to break all earthenware pots containing wine. One day he was walking along the bank of a river when he saw some sailors unloading a boat. The cargo consisted of round pots made of earth, and were of huge capacity. On each was written "Excellent." The Sheikh, knowing that no ordinary

pots had such labels, wondered at their contents, and asked a sailor as to what there was in them.

The sailor laughed, and told the man in the priestly garb to have nothing to do with such questions, and to pass on his way. But the Sheikh pressed his enquiry. The sailor said it was wine, and the very finest of it, which was going to the King. Upon this the good Sheikh broke one pot after another, saying that he was bleeding the Devil to death. The sailor fled in horror and reported the matter to the King, who ordered that the Sheikh be immediately seized by his soldiers, and brought to the Court.

The people of the town, who knew the pious intention of the hermit, sympathised with him, but they were afraid that the wrath of their ruler would fall upon him with a vengeance. The King sat in his iron chair, dressed in red robes of State, and holding in his hand a big club of steel. The fate of Abul Hasun was not much in doubt.

"Why did you break those pots of our wine?" demanded the angry potentate.

The Sheikh replied that he was appointed to curb the evil, and to check the effects of inebriety.

"Who appointed you as such?" asked the King.

"The only great, great Power," said the Sheikh.

"Who is that power?" cried the King.

"The Power that made you king of the land, and me a king of people's hearts!" was the naïve

rejoinder, whereat the haughtiness of the Ameer subsided very considerably. "And I have," further added the pious man, "rendered a service to mankind, and towards you also."

"How is that?" asked the potentate.

"I did the service to you," explained Abul Hasun, "by protecting you from the wiles of the world, and saved you from the blaze of the fires of Hell, which await all those who drink wine. And a service towards your people in this manner, that, if you were under the influence of wine, your sound judgment would be gone, and you would impose unjust penalties upon your helpless subjects."

Thereupon the King was deeply moved, and appointed the Sheikh to see that no one in his country went against the Laws of Religion; and he was henceforth a great favourite of the Ameer.

Majnoon, a poor man, loved the fair daughter of a king. As perhaps was only natural, his love was not reciprocated by Layla, for the disparity between their social positions was very great. But Majnoon, who was deeply smitten, would stand for days—nay, for months—on the road where people said that the royal carriages would be likely to pass. He patiently would wait to catch one, and only one glimpse of the idol he worshipped. Many a night he would recline under the walls of the castle, thinking that Layla might come up to the roof to enjoy the freshness of the starry night, and meet her sister

Moon, who is always dressed in phosphoric robes, under the blue and milky sky; and perchance she might look down in contrast on the dark shadow of the castle wall, and Majnoon would thus have a chance of seeing her.

They said that Majnoon was mad, and in joke gave out that even the dog of Layla would not vouchsafe to sniff a creature like Majnoon. The crazy lover, learning in this manner that his princess had a pet dog, henceforth embraced every dog which he met, believing it to belong to Layla, and bearing a message from her.

One day it was rumoured in the bazaars that Layla was going for a picnic over the hills. Majnoon took his stand on the side of the road, and stood reclining on a tree. Layla never came, the tree withered, and Majnoon stood there as if fastened to the trunk of the dead tree. The insects enveloped him with their salivary cement and lime, and people shook him to consciousness. He roamed about, hopelessly in love, but accomplishing nothing, and died, waiting to meet Layla, who never came.

There was a brave man called Furhad, who loved a Princess Sheenree, but the Princess did not love him. Furhad tried in vain to gain access to the love-cell of Sheenree's heart, but no one would dare betray the fact that a stone-cutter loved a lady of royal blood. Furhad, in despair, would go to the desert, to the mountains, and spend whole days without food, playing on his flute sweet music in praise of Sheenree.

At last people thought to devise a plan to acquaint the Princess of the stone-cutter's love. She saw him once, and love which lived in his bosom also began to breathe in hers. But she dared not open her lips before her father, for how could a mean labourer aspire to win the hand of a princess ?

It was not long, however, before the King himself heard some rumour of this extraordinary exchange of sentiment. He was naturally indignant at the discovery, but as he had no child other than Sheenree, and Sheenree was also pining away with love, he proposed to his daughter that her lover, being of common birth, must accomplish a task such as no man may be able to do, and then, and only then, might he be recommended to his favour. The task which he skilfully suggested was that Sheenree should ask her lover to dig a canal in the rocky land among the hills. The canal must be six lances in width and three lances deep and forty miles long !

The Princess had to convey her father's decision to Furhad, who forthwith shouldered his spade and started off to the hills to commence the gigantic task. He worked hard and broke the stones for years. He would start his work early in the morning when it was yet dark and never ceased from his labours till, owing to darkness, no man could see one yard on each side.

Sheenree secretly visited him and watched the hard-working Furhad sleeping with his *taysha* (spade) under his head, his body stretched

on the bed of stones. She noticed, with all the pride of a lover, that he cut her figure in the rocks at each six yards and she would sigh and return without his knowing.

Furhad worked for years and cut his canal; all was in readiness but his task was not yet finished, for he had to dig a well in the rocky beds of the mountains and sprout a fountain from which the canal should receive its perpetual supply. He was half-way through, and would probably have completed it, when the King consulted his courtiers and sought their advice. His artifice had failed. Furhad had not perished in the attempt, and if all the conditions were fulfilled as they promised to be soon, his daughter must go to him in marriage. The Viziers suggested that an old woman should be sent to Furhad to tell him that Sheenree was dead; then, perhaps, Furhad would become disheartened and leave off the work.

It was an ignoble trick, but it promised success and the King agreed to try it. So an old woman went to Furhad and wept and cried till words choked her; the stone-cutter asked her the cause of her bereavement.

"I weep for a deceased," she said, "and for you."

"For a deceased and for me?" asked the man in surprise. "And how do you explain it?"

"Well, my brave man," said the pretender sobbingly, "you have worked so well, and for such a long time, too, but you have laboured in

vain, for the object of your devotion is dead!"

"What!" cried the bewildered man, "Sheenree dead?"

Such was his grief that he cut his head with the sharp spade and died under the carved image of his beloved. The only liquid that streamed into his canal was his own blood. When Sheenree heard this she fled in great sorrow to the mountains where lay her wronged lover; it is said that she inflicted a wound in her own head at the precise spot where Furhad had struck himself, and with the same sharp edge of the spade which was stained with her lover's gore. No water ever flows into that canal, but two lovers are entombed in one and the same grave.

It is said that when the Prophet Mahomed fled for his life from Mecca to Medina his trusty friend Abbo Bakir was with him. They had walked for miles in the atrocious heat of the sun, and had had no food for days. At last they came to a clump of palm-trees where they rested for a while, but some noise of people and clouds of dust frightened them and they thought that their pursuers were at hand. The Prophet and his friend hurried to a hill and concealed themselves in a cave, but the pursuing horsemen had seen the two men escape, and were, as the Prophet feared, his enemies. They traced their footsteps to the hillside, but on the rocks no impressions of the feet could be seen, and thus the two refugees were safe for a time. A spider

spun its web over the mouth of the cave and doves and other birds made their nests on the stones at its entrance, so that those in pursuit should think that no one could hide in the cave without breaking the spider's web and frightening the birds.

Nevertheless, the horsemen decided to rest near that cave for it was the only part of the hill where any spring was to be found. They boiled their meat and baked their bread and danced about. The Prophet was much fatigued and hungry, a stupor came upon him, and he fell asleep; his friend put the Prophet's head on his lap. It was not long before the Khalifa Abbo Bakir saw a hole and from the hole a snake protruded its head. It was evident that the snake must not come out of the hole and bite the Prophet, so the Khalifa (Abbo Bakir was the successor of Prophet Mahomed and the first of the four Khalifas) placed the toe of his foot over the snake's hole and prevented its coming out.

The snake bit him, not once but several times, till he was blue all over by the action of the venom, but he would not shift his position nor remove his toe from the hole lest he might disturb the Prophet in his sleep. However, something eventually awoke the Prophet and he was much surprised to see that the colour of his friend's face was blue.

"Are you frightened?" asked the Prophet. The situation explained itself when the Khalifa suddenly fainted, and at the same time the snake came out of its hole. The Prophet promptly

killed the snake, and touched the wound of his friend with his index finger; all the poison disappeared and Abbo Bakir sat up. The Prophet Mahomed never forgot that noble deed of self-sacrifice and often spoke of it.

Khalid Ibin Waleed had been severely wounded and his army was on the point of retreating; the newsbearer rode hard to convey the sad tidings to the ladies of his household. Kholla, the younger sister of the great General Khalid, throwing herself on a horse galloped to the scene of the battle. She donned her brother's armour and held aloft the standard.

The fleeing soldiers, thinking they saw their leader again and taking heart thereby, summoned up their courage and fell upon the foes once more like hungry and wounded tigers. The battle surged in blood for hours, but Kholla ultimately led her brother's men to victory.

In reporting these tales, no attempt has been made to trace the origin of the stories. As can be imagined practically all are to be classed as folk-tales about heroes and interesting personalities of all countries that have drifted to the mountainous regions of Afghanistan, and are related by the older and unsophisticated men in the villages around the evening fires.

CHAPTER IX

LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS

I cannot tell how the truth may be;
I say the tale as 'twas said to me.
—*The Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

THERE are some ruins in the mountain range of Safaid Koh on the east of Kandahar. The ruins are in the shape of large wells and walls without any inscription. Traditions go to say that the ruins are of a city called Zohaka, named after a cruel King Zohak. There are two or three old half-demolished brick gates, and a brick pond which it is said was fed by mountain streams, and a hidden channel connected it with the river Indus of India.

Firdoosee, the Persian poet, speaks of Zohak as a king who killed Jumshaid. No actual historical records can with authenticity ascertain the King Zohak or the ruins of the city in Safaid Koh. There is, however, an illusion that such a king did exist before the advent of Islam in those regions, and maybe that he extended his military operations as far as Kandahar, and founded this city of Zohak.

Legends and traditions of the people of the Safaid Koh are different, and they affirm that the city was Zohaka, built by Zohak. About this Persian king a great many stories are told.

One of the commonest is that Zohak was a cruel king who ruled over an empire extending from Busra to Indus. His subjects groaned under his thraldom, and they invoked the wrath of God to fall upon Zohak.

One night Zohak arose and found sores or slight wounds on his shoulders. No surgeons could heal them, and they assumed a more dangerous aspect every day. By and by heads of serpents sprouted out from Zohak's wounds and they grew to the length of a yard. They bit the scalp of Zohak and ultimately destroyed the bone of his cranium and used to feed on his brain. He was taken captive by the victorious prince of an invading army named Faraindoon, and died when the serpents had eaten up all his brain.

They say that his name is composed of two words, *dah* and *aak* (in Arabic " z " is often pronounced as " d," as, for instance, Ramazan and Ramadan both are one and the same thing), *dah* meaning ten, and *aak* bad qualities—that is a man possessed of ten bad qualities. The ten faults of Zohak are said to be : impoliteness, dwarfness, injustice, untruthfulness, hard-heartedness, irreligiousness, gluttony, immodesty, pride, evil talking.

Others affirm that he was of Arab parentage and was born with two protruding front teeth. His parents were very proud of him and thought that the child was fortunate and was born laughing. They named him Zohak (Arabic—*zahik*, meaning who laughs a great deal).

The ten qualities which form Zohak's character, it is believed, had brought a curse upon him, and that the two serpents were sent from God to show to the people that even a great king like Zohak can be so severely punished in the world. Zohak has grown proverbial amongst the hilly tribes of Safaid Koh and Kandahar, and when they speak of a man whose conduct does not meet with their approval they say that he is a Zohak. Moneylenders are sometimes called the son or descendant of Zohak.

There is a *mazar*, or grave, it is said, of Sheikh Fareed or Baba Fareed in the district of Safaid Koh. He was a renowned Sufi. During his younger days as a poor man he roamed about the streets of Kandahar begging bread. None gave him any, and people were all busy with their games and sports. Fareed wanted no alms, for he could at any time produce great quantities of foodstuffs if he desired, but he had heard that people round about were not very charitable and he came to ascertain the truth for himself. As no one took any notice of the poor Faqeer Fareed jumped into the river and caught a fish and held it up to the sun. The sun descended from his height and roasted his fish. The people were all scorched to death. The water boiled in their vessels and the earth became red hot. Fareed left the town and henceforth the heat of the sun is great over those parts during summer. That explains the heat-waves of Kandahar.

One day a man was carrying some things in a

covered tray over his head. Baba Fareed asked him what he carried, the man said that they were bricks. " Bricks ? " asked the Darwash. " May they be bricks then." On his arrival at the bazaar the baker found that all his bread had turned into hard bricks. He ran to seek the great Sufi and implored for his forgiveness. " Very well," said the Fareed, " go. They are bread, and do not tell untruths again." The bread was again bread.

One of the disciples of the Sufi had left his country in search of his daughter who had been kidnapped when she was a child. After the evening prayer when everyone had retired, this man felt a pain in his side. Towards midnight his pains grew unbearable and he, in the agony of it, approached his spiritual leader, Baba Fareed, for medical assistance. " Go," said the Peer, " and lay yourself down on the grass of such-and-such graveyard." The man could not understand the meaning of this method of treatment, and yet he dared not say anything. It began to pour, and lightning lashed the clouds up above when the invalid went to the graveyard.

He saw that in a *maqbara*—tomb—a dim light was burning, and two men were fighting with swords. He ran to the window and listened, and heard them say to one another : " The girl is mine." He rushed in and the two men took to their heels. " Rescue me, dear friend," came a voice from the corner. He saw a veiled

woman. She declared that she had been stolen from her parents when she was a little girl by these two villains who had just then fled. By the description and name he found that it was his own daughter for whom he had been searching for fifteen years.

The next day Fareed asked as to how his disciple's pain was, and said that there was a hidden meaning to his ordering the disciple to go to the graveyard.

In the province of Badakhshan they speak of a river as impure and filthy, for it comes from a lake which has drowned a town. There was a ruler who though wise and just and a master of a vast and fertile country, had no heir. He prayed to God to give him a son who might propagate his line. No prayer was heard for a long time, so the King said that he would be content to have a son even if he was as foolish as an ass. His prayers were heard, and a son was born, but the child had ears like a donkey, otherwise quite human. The boy was of exceptionally clever intelligence, and he managed to govern the country without a regent from the age of ten years.

The long ears had always been an awkward predicament to him, but he concealed them so well that no one ever saw them. The barbers who shaved his head and trimmed his beard knew the secret, and they were executed after they had dressed the King's hair. The dissatisfaction amongst the people grew intense,

for they were very reluctant to go in for that particular service to their King. Whosoever did not present himself when it was his turn was made to come, and his fate was sad, as he was beheaded lest the secret of the King be disclosed.

One youth volunteered to save his brother's life and to die after shaving the King. He went, and the King took compassion on him, and taking oaths of secrecy his life was spared, and he was made the King's Vizier. They were out one afternoon for a hunt and the Vizier's horse outstripped that of the King, and he in glee said that his horse had beaten the horse of the "Donkey-eared King." Having realised his mistake, he escaped to the mountains and roamed about for years. He used to return to the town when it was dark, and his heart one night grew very sad when he saw that they were taking an only son of a poor widow to shave the King's head, and she was in distress. The officers of the King beat him right and left.

The immorality of the town had made a profound impression upon him, and he prayed that the city be drowned. Water spouted from where he stood, and he ran to the hills; the flood of the water covered the lofty minarets of the tallest buildings, and a lake was formed in a place where once stood a mighty city.

One of the sons of Adam, whose name was Shees, is said to be buried in one of the Hazara hills. Shees was of a most extraordinary height,

and his appetite was enormous. The deepest of the oceans would only reach to his knees, and he would catch the big whales and lift them up to the sun and roast them in its tropical rays.

In the city of Herat they speak of a grave of a man who lived for thousands of years, and the grave is considered to be that of a very sacred person, for he had met Moses and seen Khoja Khizar. Khoja Khizar is believed to be a most pious old man who is commissioned by God to assist all in trouble and show the way to a people who may have lost it in forests and deserts. Khizar is not visible to all, but he appears in the form of a very old man, with a long white beard, where succour and guidance are required.

They say that one day the old man whose grave is at Herat was picking up dry branches in a wood, when he saw two white-bearded men walking on his right-hand side. They did not talk, but pursued their way in absolute quietness. The woodcutter ran up to them, and thinking them robbers or thieves or spies, challenged them to stop and to follow him to the town authorities. " Do you," said one, " not know who we are ? We are Khizar and Musa." The old man fell on his knees and begged their pardon, and asked them what was their mission that day.

" There is a wall," said Hazat Khizar, " in this neighbourhood, where a man has built a chest of gold for his son on his death. The son of that man is yet young and cannot look after

himself. The wall where the gold is concealed is in a bad and unstable condition. We are going to put it right and plaster it so that the orphan's treasures shall be secure till he is of age to dig it up himself." The two men walked on, and the woodcutter remained aghast.

This woodcutter is made the nucleus of great legends, and as he is believed to have lived for thousands of years, he is reputed to have seen and heard such things that no other human being ever did. Some say that he was a sailor in the service of the Turks, and when a Sultan was much distressed by the hoards of robbers who used to steal his gold, he loaded some boats with his treasures and ordered them to be taken to an island, so that the treasures might be buried there with safety. The boats set sail to the island, but an unfavourable wind carried them to the coast of Persia, and the Shah, thinking it a gift of God, appropriated the gold and took the crew as prisoners. The woodcutter escaped and passed his life in the border hills of Afghanistan.

And yet another version is given to Shahmulla, the sailor, the woodcutter—that he was a hard-working farmer in the fertile province of Mashed in Persia, and had to fly for his life from his native land, for he had elicited the anger of the mighty Emperor Bahram Goor.

Shahmulla, it is related, was one day watering his fields, and for two days he was busy with the work. He noticed, however, that one patch of ground was as dry as sand, and all the water

of that portion was flowing down a hole. He dug the ground and discovered steps. Descending there he saw a large hall, courtyard and numerous cells. It was dark, and he touched the idols and figures of animals which felt like metal to his touch. The farmer ran to announce this discovery to the King, and on excavating, the metal animals which he had touched were of solid, pure gold. The King had them melted and gave nothing to the poor *dahqan*, or farmer, and when he asked for something the King got so angry that he ordered them to behead Shahmulla. The farmer lived and earned his living by cutting wood and selling it in the bazaars of Herat.

In the borderland of Afghanistan and Persia they say that Subzawar, which is a district in that part of the country, was the seat of the very first King who ruled over the earth. This King was called Kymoors. The meaning of the word Kymoors is interesting. Kymoors was, it is commented, originally Gymut, and *gy* or *guo* means in Persian one who may speak or sing in a melodious tone. *Murt* is interchangeable with *murd*, which means man. The combination is "a man who is a great speaker or singer," and apparently Kymoors was possessed of these fine vocal qualities.

Kemukht, they say, reigned over Subzawar after Kymoors, and he was dethroned by rebels and fled to Turkestan, where he used to dress in the hide of the zebra. *Kemukht* is also a silk

cloth of many colours made at Subzawar, and they say that it is that King who was the first man during whose reign the cloth was worn by the nobles of his Court to remind him that he, the King, once was expelled out of his country, and in his exile wore nothing but the zebra's uncured hide. His name was Gho, and as they imitated the pattern from their King, the cloth was named after him as *gho imokht*, *imokht* meaning in Persian "taught." By gradual use the cloth is now called *kemukht*.

It is generally said amongst the Kohistanees that if a boy who is an only child should sleep in the hills he would hear the *gunjay Quaroon* (*gunj* meaning in Persian treasure; Quaroon, name of a king) move under the earth. He would hear sounds as if big chests full of gold coins were being moved.

This story they link to the tales of Moses' time, and that of an infidel King, Quaroon. The King used to extort money from orphans and the poor, and had amassed a great treasury. Moses prayed to God that a curse of heaven should be imposed upon Quaroon. Presently all the chestfuls of gold came running from the *tahkhanas* or treasury cells, and heaped themselves in the shape of a pillar. Quaroon fled to the forests and the pillar chased him and stood on his head and thrust him to the depths of the earth. It shall remain so till the Day of Judgment and Quaroon's wealth will be changing its place constantly under the crest of the earth.

Quaroon had many chests full of gold, and each key was about the size of a human finger. Imam Subbee has estimated this treasure to be locked in four hundred and forty thousand chests (440,000).

In the Kizilbash clans round about Herat they speak of a cave in the Durkat Mountain Range where is buried the *Jamay jum* (or the cup of Jamshaid). Kaykhusro, one of the descendants of Jamshaid, had a cup made. In this cup the astronomers had sketched some circles to indicate the motion of the stars. By some hidden means this cypher was read, and future events were disclosed to the King. He could see all that was going on in the world, or if any misfortune were going to befall the Emperor or his kingdom. By looking in the cup everything was visible. This cup is also called *Jamay jahan noma*—a cup which reflected whatever happened in this world.

They say that Registan (desert) which lies to the south of Kandahar, was once a land where grew immense gardens of pomegranates and figs, and there were many prosperous towns. But during the time of Alexander the Great a beast was born in one of the cities of Registan, and whosoever caught his gaze was instantly killed. The beast roamed about devastating the towns and laying waste all that came in his way, till the whole of that part of the country became a desert.

Alexander was very anxious to have the beast

killed, but none dare look at the animal, whose gaze was fatal. The King consulted his Ministers, but no one could suggest a plan nor volunteered to go and face the beast of the desert. Aristotle at last stepped out and said he would undertake to combat the evil-eyed monster.

He caused a mirror of about six feet to be fastened to a carriage. Sitting in this carriage he propelled it himself and placed the big mirror in front. When the beast smelt the scent of a human being he advanced towards the carriage, but Aristotle placed the glass in front of the monster, and as soon as he saw his reflection in the mirror he gave a loud growl and was dead, having seen his evil eye in it. The King honoured the Minister and asked him how it was, and how did the monster actually come into being.

" My master," said the Hakeem, " the people of that region were very unclean, and this monster was born of filth and a product of uncleanliness, so he purged the earth of such people, and as his sight was death to man, I thought that if he could see himself in a mirror his end would also be complete."

Timur Lane, or Timur Lame, or as he is called in Persian, Taymoor Lung (*lung*—lame), was a son of a shepherd in Turkestan. His father had died and his mother was old and always ill in bed. Taymoor used to take his herd early in the morning to the hills and return home at night. The goat's milk and dry bread were their only food and drink, and if the

shepherd-boy managed to bring a load of sticks from the hills and sell them in the bazaar, that money added a little to their means of subsistence.

It was a very hot day of summer, and Taymoor was tired. He made a stone his pillow and lay down on a patch of grass on the bank of a small *chishma* (brook), and the coolness of the shade made him drowsy and he was sleeping. Not long had he slept when someone hit him hard with a stick, and his left foot was blue with the stroke. A voice thundered in his ear from somewhere: "Rise, Taymoor, rise! Do not slumber your time. You are to be a master of nations' destinies and will rule over races and lands never seen by your ancestors. Rise, Taymoor, rise!" Taymoor limped home and one day rose to command the nations as was foretold, and was lame with one leg all his life.

In Ghaznee they say that Mahmud on his seventeenth invasion of India plundered and ransacked the temple of the rich Somnath. There stood an idol in the centre of the *munder* (temple) of gigantic height. This was made of gold and was hollow, and the worshippers used to drop their presents of jewels in its mouth. Mahmud struck the idol with a hammer by his own hand, and when his officers beseeched him to spare the idol and accept money from its worshippers, he replied that on the Day of Judgment he would like to be called "Mahmud the Idol Breaker," and not "Mahmud the Idol Seller."

Cartloads of rubies and diamonds, gold and silver fell out like a torrent of water from the idol's interior when Mahmud struck the idol. The wealth was brought to Ghaznee, and a portion of it was ordered to be placed at the Jumma Mosque at Ghaznee, while two other pieces were sent to Mecca and Medina in Arabia, to be used as steps of the mosques. The Hindus, it is said, came to Ghaznee and sent a petition to Mahmud to say that the jewels of their idol might be retained by the King, but the idol should be exchanged for money.

Mahmud, they say, ordered the idol to be reduced to powder, and that powder, mixed with flour, made the bread for the Hindus at night. The next morning Mahmud said in reply that he had no idol left, for they had eaten up their object of devotion in their bread the preceding night.

The worshippers of the Somnath were grieved at heart to know what had been done to them, and in agony and despair they returned to India. This is why it is said that the Hindus rub their teeth and tongue so much each morning to expel every particle of the idol. But for generations yet to come the whole of the Somnath will not leave the body of the Hindus.

A Faqeer was asked by Mahmud to tell him the next day at the Durbar as to where was the centre of the earth. If he failed, he would be put to death. The Viziers advocated the cause of the poor Faqeer saying that he was only a

mendicant, who knew nothing of geography or of that art in which the Arabs of the desert were so skilled. But the King of Ghaznee would not listen, and said that whoever posed to the people as a saint and possessed superhuman powers would have to prove to the guardians of Ghaznee his genuineness.

The unfortunate Faqeer was in distress and none of his disciples could save him from his fate, for he knew not where the centre of the earth was. No incantations could he call to his aid, and he sat weeping in his garden, when his daughter saw him and asked the cause of his anxiety.

"I have," said the Faqeer, "to tell the King the centre of the earth to-morrow. I do not know how to answer, for I am ignorant of the truth."

His daughter whispered something in his ear and the old man was cheerful.

The day dawned in its usual splendour, and the *Durbarees* all dressed in red (*Durbaree*—seat-holder of a Durbar) sat in grief to see the poor old Faqeer's trial, as they were fully aware that he would not be able to answer. He was brought before the King, and after salaams and respects, he said that he could answer the King's question. It had not, he declared, troubled him at all, for all was known to him; and advancing boldly to the royal throne, he touched one of the legs of the *tukht* (chair or throne) and said that the centre of the earth was under that leg of the *tukht*, and that the King ruled in the centre of the earth.

All were amazed, and Mahmud was much pleased and gave him *khulet* (an embroidered robe), but yet was sceptical about his honesty, and commanded him further to tell him in an open Durbar the next day as to how many leaves there were on all the trees of the King's gardens. The Faqeer's daughter again stood him in good stead, and at the next Durbar he appeared ever so bright and without anxiety, and said that the number of the leaves was one hundred thousand trillions, and if they did not believe him the leaves might be counted. The King was much impressed, and henceforth the Faqeer was in the royal favour.

Mahmud Ghaznavee, they say in Ghaznee, was a great admirer of poetry, and not a few poets of all nations were kept at his Court. One day Mahmud was in a great rage and cut the Queen's hair; but when his heat of temper had subsided he deplored his action, but nothing could join the hair. He paced backward and forward in his garden till a favourite poet of his Court, Unsaree, approached him and tried to beguile the anxiety of his master.

"Read a poem," asked the King, "while I play with small fishes in the pond."

The poet read, and stopped at the end of each couplet to get the attention of the King, till at last he complained of his master's inattention.

"The couplet," replied Mahmud, "which is really good will compel my attention however I may try to play with the fishes."

The poet read another, and it delighted the King so much that he filled his mouth with rubies and diamonds.

There is a water dam—*bund*—near Ghaznee, where the water from the hills forms a small river and flows southwards. It is believed that the dam was made by Khalifa Ali by throwing a rock from the Saray-Koh. Hazrat Ali is supposed to have been of superhuman strength, and he lifted the rock from the mountain in his palm and threw it in the *maidan* (plains), where it turned into a stream. History tells us that Hazrat Ali was never in that part of the country, but as this neighbourhood has some Shiah population, and Ali being a great hero to them, it is probable that the legend arose from their own inability to account for the existence of the rocks in the plains. They go further, and it is thought that the stream flows to where Hazrat Ali is, and in great matters of distress they write their wish on a paper and throw it in the water, thinking that the application will reach Ali. One can call this a typical Shiah legend.

At Balkh and also at Mazar-i-Sharief to the south they speak of the grave of Shees or Seth, son of Noah. Both places claim the grave to be in their town; but Mazar-i-Sharief, one thinks, has a better claim to the legend. *Mazar* in Persian means grave or tomb. *Sharief* means respected or holy or pious; and, as the Mussalmans consider Noah as one of the prophets, it

may be that a prophet's son was buried at Mazar-i-Sharief. It has also been said that although no one has seen it, yet they have a piece of Noah's Ark at Samarkund in Turkestan; hence the tradition that the land which appeared first after the Great Deluge of Noah was Hindu Kosh range and the country round about Balkh.

The inhabitants of the city of Bamian, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, the farmers of the country near the village of Korghan speak of a cave in the hills from which cold blasts of air issue during the day, and at night a phosphoric light emerges out of it and blazes in wild and bright flames. No one would dare go near the cave in daylight or at night. The cave, no doubt, is a dark recess of considerable size and not quite natural, for some human hand must have been instrumental in cutting its mouth in such a regular oval shape.

But as we shall see later in this book, there is strong evidence to support the point that the Greeks or the Buddhists are mainly responsible in the construction of these caves all round the province of Bamian. In recent times some explorations of a degree had been undertaken, as the Ameer had been informed by ancestral traditions that in the hills of Bamian there were great deposits of either gold or precious stones. These exertions ended, at least for the present, in only discovering prehistoric remains. It is important to observe here that the above legend was so firmly established amongst the

dahqans (land cultivators) that no one would accompany the party of engineers when they reached close to the cave where they believed existed the origin of cold winds and flames.

There is a small hill in Kohistan and a white line of sand is visible in the middle of the green herbage. The sand, curiously enough, is in motion, and they say that at the foot of the hill there is a cave where all the *raigay rawan* (*raig*, sand : *rawan*, running or in motion) goes down, and weird sounds are heard on dark nights, especially on Thursday nights.

The legend goes on to say that there was an old man who took up his abode near the cave of *raigay rawan* and proclaimed himself as Imman Mehdee, who is to come at the end of the world. He soon collected followers, and dressed them as birds and beasts, and advanced towards Kabul. The Ameer's troops dispersed his followers and the pretender escaped to the hills of Kohistan. But he did not rest, and men from all parts of the country flocked under his banner, and once again they marched on the capital. The Mullas and Sufis denounced him as a curse to the peace of the Faithful, and prayed to God that the disturber of the tranquillity might be severely punished ; and with this good omen, and backed up by the pious men's spiritual zeal, the Afghan soldiers defeated the hordes of the professed Mehdee and killed him near the cave wherefrom he rose.

It is said that his corpse descended into the

cave, and from that time the white streak of sand flows from the top of the hill and goes down the pretender's cave to stuff his mouth for speaking blasphemy. The voices heard are his groans for mercy.

On the border towns between Afghanistan and Turkestan many families are engaged in the trade of silkworm culture and silk-winding. If one asks them as to how originated their trade, they relate passages from *Qassus-ul-Umbia.* (Arabic—*qasses* plural gender of *qissa*, meaning story or tale ; *ul*, meaning of ; *umbia*, prophets or messengers of God. The meaning in full is " Tales of the Prophets," and there still exists a book of that name written in Persian.)

Of silkworms says the book, " Every prophet has left witnesses to his people, and our brother Job left the worm. All this good thing came from the patience and mildness of the Prophet Job." Traditions say that Satan complained to God that he could not combat with the Prophet Job as he was rich. God took away all Job's wealth and yet Job was ever devoted in prayers to God and preached the truth to people. Again Satan expressed Job's superiority, inasmuch as that Job's body was sound and healthy. God to test Job further brought wounds on Job's body and created worms in the sores, and the Prophet was patient and humble and offered his prayers as before, till he was so weak that he could not pick up a worm which had fallen down from his wound, and he asked his wife to place

it again on the sore. " Since it has pleased God," he said, " to feed the worms on my body, this worm must go in its place." His wife put it there and Job was always at prayer.

Job's acquittal from his severe test pleased God, and Gabriel was sent to strike the earth, bring out a stream and throw the Prophet in the water. The action of the water healed Job's wounds and the worms scattered in three directions ; some fell in the stream and became leeches, others flew in the air and were made bees, others crawled up the trees and were fashioned into silkworms.

Imam Jafferay Sadique, who was supposed to be the first silk-winder, is said to have held that a saint, Daood, could not understand the nature of the cocoons, and prayed to God to enlighten him upon their use. He had not finished praying when a form appeared, and announcing himself to be a Treasurer of God, told him to put the cocoons in water and then see the explanation of it. He threw the cocoons in the water, and, taking a crooked stick, he struck the cocoons, saying : " In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." A thread appeared on the stick, and they called it silk or *rayshum* or *ubrayshum*.

It is probable that the tradition of Job's worms is a factor in giving the silk the name of *rayshum*, for to trace it further in Persian, *raysh* means wound, or wounded, and *raysha* means thread-like. In Arabic, however, *reesh* stands for fine thread like feathers of birds. One can, with

justice, presume that *rayshum* is a Persian word, and in its entirety means " my wounds " or " my sores "—*raysh*, sore ; *um* is interchangeable with *mun*, meaning mine, as *karum* (my work) is really *karr-ay-mun* (*karr*, work). It may be that the traditional association of Job's worms brought out a word something like " from my sores." It is evident that the legend is directly connected with the derivation of the word *rayshum*. Again, *rayshum* and *ubrayshum* are one and the same thing ; here as before we can split the word into *ub-raysh-um*. *Ub*, in certain senses, stands for *Aab*, and means in Persian " water," and once more the thought of creating a water stream by Gabriel strikes the idea that the tradition of *ub* to *rayshum* is to signify the origin of the silkworm.

The trade of silk-winding is considered one of the most honourable trades, and certain rules in connection with different times in the operation of the winding are to be strictly observed. All engaged in the trade must wash themselves before going into their workroom, and offer prayers on entering it. They should abstain from all intoxicating drugs and speak ill of no man, nor charge exorbitant prices for their silk. A due regard and respect must at all occasions be paid to the head of the Guild of the Trade, and beginners of the art should have their gaze directed on the ground and should not stare at their teachers or seniors of the trade.

There are certain other preliminary steps which ought to be taken by the apprentices.

They ought to recite: "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Give us Thy forgiveness, O God; we are sinners" when going to the workshops in the morning. When the cocoons are thrown into the hot water and a man takes a crooked stick to stir up the liquid, they say: "O Lord, Your happiness has come upon us." When they take out the silk from the cauldrons they ought to say: "By Thy wisdom, O God, clean us from sin and keep us apart from guilt." They should recite: "Our thanks are due to the Master of Paradise" when putting the thread to the reels, and when winding a verse should be recited: "Direct us, O Lord, to the path of righteousness." At the closing time they must not turn their backs towards the place where the silk may be lying, but retrace their steps facing the loom.

There is an old well some miles from Kabul called Chahay Rustum (*chah*, well) of about the radius of ten yards, and a network of iron is placed just under the water. The construction is of red stones, such that cannot be seen in the neighbouring hills. The water is never drawn from it, and is of a deep grey colour. The well has no date on it, and on the walls big iron chains hang down to the water surface. The legend goes to say that Rustum, the great wrestler of Persia, after being killed was thrown into this well, and a friend of his fixed these chains, so that Rustum's spirit might climb up and escape out; but the enemies of the wrestler

placed a network under the level of the water, and thus the dead hero of Firdoosee was for ever in that well.

The truth goes against it, for it is to be understood that the water of the well is very unwholesome ; and, as it is of very large dimensions, the constructors had placed the iron network to catch anyone who may be thrown in by accident, and the chains were to hang on to till help came. Such wells of huge diameter are seen round about Ghaznee also.

Some Gubroos (Fire Worshippers) came as pilgrims to see this well, but some time ago the Afghan authorities recognised in some of them Persian and Turkish spies.

CHAPTER X

TREES, PLANTS, INSECTS, AND ANIMALS

AFGHANISTAN is called the orchard of many fruit trees and truly speaking it is so, for whoever has not tasted the delightful pomegranates of Kandahar, and grapes and apricots of Kabul? Two kinds of vines are cultivated, the *kishmishee* (sultana raisins) and the other *musqutee* (mastics). Both are to be found in great abundance all around the country and some people are fruit growers by profession. Mulberry and apricots receive little favour, and they are, as a rule, dried and exported to India and Persia and raw material is taken in exchange.

The grapes and walnuts are also exported. In the fruit markets of northern India one can generally see small boxes about the size of a collar-box made of wood which are sent from Afghanistan. The larger grapes are as a rule reserved for this purpose, for their skins are more resistible and each grape lies separately interlined by cotton wool.

The forests of Afghanistan are not so thick as those of the Himalayan range, chiefly because thousands of trees are felled every year for fuel as there is no coal. Amongst the most important

and well-known trees the following exist in large numbers :

Deodar	Turpentine Pine	Larch
Hazel	Oak	Ash
Walnut	Berberry	Juniper

The only flowers in the gardens before the introduction of English bulbs and seeds were : roses (of various colours), honeysuckle, chumpa and white narcissi. But the attention of the present ruler is now in the direction of improving the condition of the forests and no one is allowed to fell any trees. The restrictions are so great that the camels must be muzzled so that they may not destroy the Government property of State forests.

Great similarity exists between the animals of Afghanistan and those of Kashmir. In Afghanistan among others one could find :

Cats (Jungle)	Tiger	Wolf
Wild small dogs	Fox	Hare
Black bear	Deer	Persian Gazelles
Squirrel	Lizards	Snakes (mostly harmless, except in Jelallabad Province)
Parrots	Pigeons	
Doves	Crows	
Ducks	Snipe	
Camel (Bactrian and Dromedary)	Horses (Yaboos)	Cows
	Elephants (Indian) are used for carrying loads	

Wasps are a perfect nuisance in the district of Jelallabad and scorpions are not uncommon. Whoever kills a snake is given a small money

prize by the Local Government authorities. Cobras are not to be seen but in the long grass of the marshes, the so-called "water snake" often entangles in people's legs, but fortunately is devoid of any fatal venom. Bullocks and hill ponies are really the only beasts of burden, though the poorer classes possess nothing but the donkey or a camel.

Sheep with fat tails called *dumba* are generally kept by farmers and are considered specially profitable animals, as their skin furnishes the *poosteens* (fur coats) for the poor labourers and the flesh is sold by the butchers. Almost every household keeps poultry and perhaps a cow, called the *gaomaish*. Dogs are not allowed to come inside the house and their utility is confined to the gates to keep watch.

CHAPTER XI

THE AFGHAN CONCEPTION OF SUFISM

He that is purified by love is pure; and he that is absorbed in the Beloved and hath abandoned all else is a Sufi.

OF the many mystical doctrines to which our mother the East has given birth, none is more beautiful in its appeal than the way of the Sufi, nor does any point to a goal of such exalted spiritual ambition. He who is versed in its tenets and practice has outsoared the shadow of doubt and the possibility of error. He is face to face with the Divine. Many esoteric systems lay claim to such a consummation, but none with more justice than Sufism; for the disciplinary and preparatory measures it entails are of a kind to induce in the devotee a perfect confidence that the ultimate goal to which he aspires will be triumphantly achieved.

Ideas that are current in Afghanistan about Sufism are that the cult dates from the latter part of the eleventh century, and was founded by a branch of that sect of Islam known as Ismaelites, headed by one Hassan Sabah, who, driven from Cairo by the persecution of the orthodox, spread a modified form of the Ismaelite doctrine throughout Syria and Persia. He was, indeed,

a member of the great and mystical Western Lodge of the Ismaelites at Cairo, the early history of which is one of romantic and absorbing interest. It comprised both men and women, who met in separate assemblies, and it was presided over by a *dai al doat*, or chief missionary, who was usually a person of importance in the state. The assemblies, called Societies of Wisdom, were held twice a week, and at these gatherings all the members were clad in robes of spotless white. This organisation was under the especial patronage of the Khalifa, to whom the lectures read within its walls were invariably submitted; and it was in the reign of the Khalifa Hakem-bi-emr-illah that steps were first taken to enlarge its scope and institute what might be called a forward movement for the dissemination of its peculiar principles.

So that it should not lack suitable surroundings, the Khalifa erected a stately edifice known as the *Dar al Hikmet*, or "House of Wisdom." Within its walls a magnificent library was installed, and writing materials and mathematical instruments were supplied for the use of all. Professors of law, mathematics, rhetoric, and medicine were appointed to instruct the faithful in the sciences. The annual income assigned to this establishment by the munificence of the Khalifa was two hundred and seventy thousand ducats, or about £126,000. A regular course of instruction in mystic lore was given to the devotees, and nine degrees had perforce to be passed before they were regarded as masters of

the mysterious knowledge gained within the classic walls of the House of Wisdom. It was the seventh of these stages in which the doctrines of Sufism were more particularly taught.

But Hassan, a man of great natural force and enlightenment, the friend of Nizam-al-Mulk and Omar Khayyám, saw clearly that the plan of the Society of Cairo was in some respects defective. His novel views did not, however, meet with the approval of the other leaders, so he retired to Persia, where he remodelled the course of instruction, reducing the number of initiatory degrees to seven, and instituting a much more rigorous system of discipline. Around the figure of Hassan cluster many legends and traditions, most of which have been highly coloured by the passage of time. But that he was the founder of Sufism as we know it to-day is certain.

Having briefly outlined the early history of Sufism, we must now seek for some general definition of its doctrines, such as will make clear to us its purpose and significance—the message it holds for the mystic and for humanity in general.

It exhibits a close connection with the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria, with which it certainly had affinities, in that it regards man as a spark of the Divine Essence, a " broken light " from the great Sun of our being, the most central and excellent radiance from which all things emanate. The soul of man is regarded as being in exile from its Creator, who is not only the author of its being, but also its spiritual home. The

human body is the cage or prison-house of the soul, and life on earth is regarded as banishment from God. Ere this ostracism from the Divine took place, full communion with the Creator was enjoyed. Each soul has formerly seen the face of Truth in its most real aspect, for what we regard as truth in the earth-sphere is but the shadow of that which shines above, perfect, immaculate—a mere reminiscence of the glories of a heavenly existence. To regain this lost felicity is the task of the Sufi, who, by a long process of mental and moral training, restores the soul from its exile, and leads it onward from stage to stage, until at last it reaches the goal of perfect knowledge, Truth and Peace—reunion with the Divine.

As an example of the Sufi doctrine of the immanence of God in creation, an ancient manuscript tells us how the Creation proceeds directly from God.

" The Creation," it says, " derives its existence from the splendour of God ; and as at dawn the sun illuminates the earth, and the absence of its light is darkness, in the like manner all would be non-existent if there were no celestial radiance of the Creator diffused in the universe. As the light of the sun bears a relation to the temporal or the perceptible side of life, so does the splendour of God to the celestial or occult phase of existence."

And what words could be more eloquently illustrative of the belief that the present life is the banishment of the soul from God, than those

of a great Asian Sufi, who on his death-bed wrote the following lines:

Tell my friends when bewailing that they disbelieve and discredit the Truth.
You will find my mould lying, but know it is not I.
I roam far, far away, in the Sphere of Immortality.
This was once my house, my covering, but not my home.
It was the cage: the bird has flown.
It was the shell: the pearl has gone.
I leave you toiling and straught. I see you struggling as I journey on.
Grieve not if one is missing from amongst you.
Friends, let the house perish, let the shell decay.
Break the cage, destroy the garment, I am far away.
Call this not my death. It is the life of life, for which I wearied and longed.

There are now four stages through which the Initiate must pass on his way to perfection and reunion with the Divine Essence; four veils that must be lifted ere his vision is purged from the grimness of the earth-sphere and he is granted the final wonder and bliss of coming face to face with Truth Eternal.

The first of these stages is known as *Hasāt*, or Humanity. The essential of proper observance in this phase, and the mere approach or avenue to the temple of Sufism, is the faithful observance of the tenets of Islam, its laws and ceremonies. This preliminary course is regarded as a necessary discipline for the weaker brethren, and as a wholesome restraint upon those who may be constitutionally unfitted to attain the heights of divine contemplation. Latitude in matters of doctrine in the earlier stages frequently

leads to evils which cease to trouble more powerful intellects and devouter souls as they gain the higher levels of contemplation, so that in a later phase the trammels of ritual observance and symbolic recognition can be cast aside and aspiration remain unfettered.

The second stage is called *Tarequt*, or the manner of obtaining what is known as *Jubroot* or Potentiality or Capacity. Here the neophyte dispenses with his guide and becomes a Sufi. It is frequently asserted that in this stage the pilgrim may, if he choose, lay aside all the external forms of religion, its rites and observances, and exchange mere worship for the delights of contemplation. But more than one of the masters contests this view, and refuses to recognise the freedom of the novice from religious forms, no matter to what degree of advancement he may have attained. There remains, however, a certain school, the members of which, though admitting that purity can be acquired in the first instance through the constant practice of orthodox austerities alone, say it cannot permanently be retained unless mere forms be transcended and outgrown.

The third stage, *Araff*, signifies that a condition of assured knowledge or inspiration has been reached, which occultists might call a condition of adeptship or Buddhists' Arahatship. The eyes of the pilgrim have become opened; he has gained possession of supernatural and occult knowledge, and is the equal of angels. Edgar Allan Poe alludes in one of his most wonderful

poems, " Al Aaraaf," to a mystical star, which he calls by this name, and which he speaks of as a plane higher than this world and not nearly so material.

Oh ! nothing earthly, save the ray
(Thrown back from flowers) of Beauty's eye,
As in these gardens where the day
Springs from the gems of Circassy.
. . . . . .

Adorn you, world, afar, afar,
The wandering star.

Lastly—but this is remote and to be gained by the exalted in purity and holiness alone—is the stage of *Haqequt*, or Truth, perfect and supreme, for the union of the soul with Divinity is now complete. It is to be won only by long-continued meditation, constant prayer, and complete severance from all things gross and earthly, for the man must be annihilated ere the saint can exist. The Fire (*Qulb*), or Steps of Heart (*Dill*), Breath (*Nufus*), the Rest of Soul (*Sar*), Head (*Ikhfa*), and Crown and the Head (*Khafi*) have been climbed, and he who was a scholar is now qualified to become a master.

In order that this condition or state of exalted holiness may best be brought about, the life of the hermit is frequently resorted to, and many, to attain it, retire into the gloomy solitude of the jungle or seek the quiet of desert fastnesses, or dwell in caves situated in the heart of almost inaccessible mountains. This devotion and singleness of purpose is, indeed, characteristic of

Sufism. But such a life, spent in prayer and meditation, conduces to the acquisition of wisdom as well as moral exaltation, and many of the most renowned Sufis have been men of the highest erudition. Scholarship is regarded as predisposing a man for the life of the Sufi. The philosophic temperament and the power of penetrating into the mysteries of the Divine Nature are often found in one and the same person. A tendency towards studious things raises a man above the level of the vulgar herd and prompts him to seek the higher excellences of holiness. It has been so in all times and in all faiths. Are not the ascetics of all religions habitually studious? and whence, it may be asked, has so much light been on things spiritual as from the cave of the mystic, or the desert abode of the Sufi?

The poet especially is looked upon as the type of man who may best develop into a Sufi of great sanctity. Poetry is, indeed, of the very essence of Sufism. The genius of the poet is akin to religious inspiration. The long flights by which he penetrates to the highest realms of the imagination are of the same nature as those by which the mystic reaches the gates of the Palace of Life and Wisdom. In the throes of his rapture, the poet transports himself into the heavenly empyrean, his wings bear him into that rare atmosphere where he can see face to face with the Divine Cause and Origin of all.

Sufism has a poetry all its own—a poetry perhaps more soulful and higher in ecstatic

expression than that of any other religious caste in the world. Again, the language of poetry—its metaphor, its swift and pulsing rhythm—is more akin to the speech of the mystic than the grosser language of the sons of earth. It is not restrained by convention or the fetters of idiom. It soars supreme above the faltering, stammering necessities of the earth-speech. Hence in Central Asia, the true home of modern Sufism, as elsewhere, we find Sufi devotion chiefly expressed through the cadences of poetry. Nor do the services of poetry to Sufi mysticism end with its provision of a more fitting medium of expression, for in Sufi verse the constant repetition of mystical allusion and religious allegory serves to conceal from the profane the hidden meaning of the cult—those deep and awful truths which it is not well that the vulgar should know, and which, at all costs, must be guarded by the adept from profanation.

That the inner significance of Sufi mysticism may be the more closely shut off from possible profanation, the language of eroticism and excess is frequently employed in its strophes to conceal hidden meanings. This has, perhaps naturally, resulted in a charge of luxury being brought against the Sufi literature as a whole. Nothing could be further from the truth. Scandalised by the interpretation placed upon the sacred writings by the ignorant, the Great Mughal Aurungzab, himself a Sufi of exalted degree and a moralist of the strictest tendencies, decreed that the poems of Hafiz and Jami should be perused only

by those persons who were sufficiently advanced in spiritual understanding to appreciate the works of these poets at their proper worth. The great mass of people in India had misunderstood the metaphors and figures of the Persian singers, and their songs, he learned, were even regarded as provocative of immorality. Let it be admitted, too, that even Eastern mystics of lower rank have misinterpreted the metaphorical expressions in which these poems abound. Speaking generally, it is the dark riddle of human life which the Sufi poet veils beneath the metaphor of physical love and the agony of parted lovers. By such means he symbolises the banishment of the human soul from its Eternal Lover. The pain of earthly parting is merely a synonym for the deep anguish of the spirit estranged from its Creator. The wine-cup, again, and the language of debauch hide metaphors which signify the rapture of the soul which is drunken with the love of God.

We must here accentuate and lay stress upon the great central doctrine of Sufism that the human soul is one in essence with the Divine. The difference is one of degree and not of kind. However much men may differ from Divinity, they are, after all, particles of the Divine Being, broken lights of God, as Tennyson so beautifully says, and will ultimately be re-absorbed in the Great Cause which projected them into the darksome regions of the earth-plane. God is universal. He interpenetrates all matter, all substance. Perfect in His truth, goodness, and

beauty, they who love Him alone know the real fullness of love. Mere physical love is an illusion, a seeming, a snare to the feet and an enemy in the path. The great mirror in which the Divine splendour reflects itself is nature. From the beginning of things, aye, from the first, it has been the task of the Supreme Goodness to diffuse happiness among those fitted to receive it. Thousands ignore it, mistaking the pomps and pleasures of earth for joy, rejecting the greater bliss to their hands.

In many faiths we hear of a covenant betwixt God and man. This is also the Sufi creed. That covenant has been broken by the sin of the creature against his Creator. Only when man once more finds reunion with God shall he be restored to his ancient privileges of full and unalloyed fellowship with the Divine. This alone is true happiness. The pursuit of the material is a vain thing. As Longfellow says:

Things are not what they seem.

Nature, the earth, that which we see, feel, and hear, are but the subjective visions of God, suggested to our minds by the great Artist. Mind or Spirit alone is immanent. The fleeting phantoms thrown by the phantasmagoria of matter we must beware of. We must attach ourselves to none of their manifestations. God alone is the one real existence, the only great Reality. He exists in us and we in Him. The visions He grants us, the pictures He casts upon the screen of our imaginations, we may use as a

means of approach to the Eternal Beauty, to the consideration of the Divine. They are what Wordsworth calls " Intimations of Immortality." As a great Frenchman once said, we weep when we listen to beautiful music, our eyes fill with tears on looking at a great picture or noble statue. A wonderful prospect in nature affects us in like manner. Wherefore? We weep because we feel that these things are but shadows of the real, the imperishable beauty which we have lost, and which we will not regain until we are once more made one with God. That Frenchman would have found in Sufism the complement, the ideal, of his philosophy. " The microcosmos, or small world," said the great Paracelsus, one of the most learned Europeans of the sixteenth century, who had travelled widely in the East, " was but the reflection of the macrocosmos or great world above—the spiritual world, which mirrored itself in the plane below." To him the illusory and phantasmal nature of the sphere in which we dwell was very plain. Indeed, no European mystic of old could possibly have found anything at which he could have demurred in the tenets of Sufism. In my opinion, Western as well as Oriental mysticism is heavily indebted to the Sufi philosophy, and those who believe in one must naturally believe in both.

It requires a mind of the first rank to recognise the great scheme of God at first sight. Few minds succeed in doing so. With most persons, long experience is needed ere they appreciate

the marvellous arch-plan of the Almighty. To a mind naturally pure and angelic this wondrous cosmic symphony is apparent from the first. It was so to Mahomed, to Boehme, to Swedenborg, to Blake. What is man, after all, but the cloak of the soul? When we say that a man is "naturally bad," we allude to the state of his inherited mind, not to his soul. The garment may be ragged, dross may cover the gold, but it is there all the same. Our bodies are of the earth and such as our fathers leave us. Our souls are of God. O man! is there aught that, possessing the friendship of God, thou canst not compass? Doth not thy soul strain to Him as the mountains strain unto the sun and the waters of the sea unto the moon? Verily thou dost move forth in the light of His strength, in the unquenchable brilliance of His boundless majesty, as a great star, lit by the beams of a still greater sun, launches forth into the million-lamped avenues of the night. As a ship is moved by the bright waves of the morning, so art thou urged by the breath of His spirit. Verily thou art of God as a child is of its father. What then hast thou to fear, O son of such a Father?

With such a hope before us—before every one of us, if we accept it—we must turn our souls from vanity, from all that is not of God, striving to approximate to His perfection and discover the secret of our kinship with Him, until at last we reach the happy consummation of union with the Divine. The Sufi doctrine tells us that at

the moment of the creation of His creature a divine voice was heard asking the question, " Art thou not with God ? Art thou not bound by solemn covenant with thy Creator ? " and each created spirit replied " Yes," as it stood in the presence of the Almighty Himself. Hence it is that the mystic words, *Alasṭo*, " Art thou not," and *Bala*, " Yes," occur so frequently in Sufi poetry. For example, Romi began his celebrated Musnawi, which I have ventured to render into English verse, as follows :

THE FLUTE

Oh ! hear the flute's sad tale again :
Of Separation I complain :
E'er since it was my fate to be
Thus cut off from my parent tree,
Sweet moan I've made with pensive sigh,
While men and women join my cry.

Man's life is like this hollow rod ;
One end is in the lips of God,
And from the other sweet notes fall
That to the mind the spirit call,
And join us with the All in All.

A regular vocabulary of the terms employed by the Sufis in their mystical poetry exists. Wine, for example, signifies devotion ; sleep, meditation on the divine perfection ; perfume, the hope of the divine afflatus. Zephyrs signify the gift of godly grace, and kisses the transports of devotion and piety. But the terms of significance are often inverted, in order that they may not be comprehended by the profane.

Thus idolaters, freethinkers, and revellers are the terms employed to indicate those whose faith is of the purest description. The idol they adore is the Creator Himself; the tavern is the place of prayer; and the wine drunk therein is the holy beverage of love, with which they become inebriated. The keeper of the tavern is the hierophant, or spiritual leader. The term beauty is used to denote the perfection of God, and love-locks and tresses the infinitude of His glory. Down on the cheeks is symbolic of the multitudinous spirits which serve Him. Inebriation and dalliance typify that abstraction of soul which shows contempt of mundane affairs.

The following extract from Sufi poetry will serve to illustrate the use of many of these mystical terms. At first sight it would appear to be inspired by the spirit of amorous and bacchanalian frenzy, but when translated into its true terms it reveals itself as of the veritable essence of mysticism.

Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the quarter where the wine-sellers dwell,
To seek out the daughter of an Infidel, who is a vendor of wine.
At the end of the street, a damsel, with a fairy's cheek, advanced before me,
Who, pagan-like, wore her tresses dishevelled over her shoulders like the sacerdotal thread.

I said, " O thou, to the arch of whose eyebrows the new moon is a shame!
What quarter is this, and where is thy place of abode?"

" Cast," she replied, " thy rosary on the ground, and lay
the thread of paganism thy shoulder upon ;
Cast stones at the glass of piety ; and from an o'erflowing
goblet quaff the wine.
After that draw near me, that I may whisper one word in
thine ear ;
For thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou hearken to
my words."

Abandoning my heart altogether, and in ecstasy rapt, I
followed her,
Till I came to a place where, alike, reason and religion
forsook me.
At a distance, I beheld a Company, all inebriated and beside
themselves,
Who came all frenzied, and boiling with ardour from wine
of love ;
Without lutes, cymbals, or viols ; yet all full of mirth and
melody—
Without wine, or goblet, or flask ; yet all drinking
unceasingly.

When the thread of restraint slipped away from my hand,
I desired to ask her one question, but she said unto me
" Silence.
This is no square temple whose gate thou canst precipitately
attain ;
This is no mosque which thou canst reach with tumult,
but without knowledge.
This is the banquet-house of Infidels, and all within are
intoxicated ;
All, from eternity's dawn to the day of doom, in astonishment
lost !
Depart, then, from the cloister and towards the tavern
bend thy steps.
Cast away the cloak of the Darwash, and don thou the
libertine's robe."
I obeyed : and if thou desire with me the same hue and
colour to acquire,
Imitate me, and both this and the next world sell for a
drop of pure wine.

One of the most celebrated exponents of the Sufi doctrine is Jami, the author of the Lala and Majnoo. His name is venerated throughout Central Asia as one of the champions of the faith. In his belief, when the Creator pours the effulgence of His Holy Spirit upon the creature, such a one becomes himself divine. So closely, indeed, is he identified with the great Source of all good, that he finds the power has been conferred upon him of sharing the regulation and direction of other beings. With the created beings whom he governs he is connected by a powerful bond of sympathy, so strong, indeed, that in a mystical sense they are spoken of as his limbs, as parts of his body; nor can they suffer and endure anything that he must not endure and suffer as well, through a process of psychical sympathy.

One of the many mistaken objections to this portion of Sufi belief is that it implies that saintship is almost one and the same thing with deification. This is not so. At the basis of Sufi philosophy will be found the fundamental axiom that no mortal can be as a god. The union of the creature with God is not an apotheosis of man, but a return of a portion of the Divine Spirit to its original fount and nucleus. The result of the union of man and God is annihilation of the merely human part of man and the withdrawal of his spiritual part to that place whence it emanated. On the annihilation of self, man realises that his own real and imperishable ego is one with the essence of God. In this union,

so great is the influence of the Eternal Spirit that man's human judgment—that which we might describe as his logical faculty, his understanding—is entirely quenched and destroyed by it; "even as error passeth away on the appearance of truth," in like manner his ability to discriminate between the perishable and the imperishable is rendered negligible. This feeling of oneness with deity it was which urged the sage Mansur to ejaculate in a fit of ecstasy, "I am Truth"; meaning thereby, "I am God." But in the eyes of the orthodox this statement appeared as blasphemous, and in making it Mansur forfeited his life—so little are those who grope in the purlieus and courts of the outer temple able to appreciate the wisdom and the speech of those who dwell in the inner sanctuaries.

The origin of evil—the question of dualism—has been the cause of much learned contention among erudite Sufis. Many have argued that evil cannot exist in face of the fact that God is wholly good and all things are from Him. One Sufi poet has said:

> The writer of our destiny is a fair and truthful writer,
> And never did He write that which is evil.

Evil is, therefore, a thing entirely human, due to the frailty of man, to the perversion of the human will and the circumstances by which humanity is surrounded—the material environment which man believes to be real, and which serves to distort his vision. It has no part in

the being of God. It follows that all the so-called spiritual powers of evil, those principalities of the air and demons of the abyss, the existence of which so many religious philosophies admit, and even expressly urge, are nothing but the figments of the human mind, misled by the phantasmagoria, the unrealities, by which man is surrounded.

Underlying the gorgeous imagery and lofty mysticism of Sufi poetry, then, whether it be that of Persia or of the Middle East, there dwells a deep significance of hidden instruction, which he who seeks may find—shall find, if he be eager enough, ardent enough. In vain we search elsewhere for a system so satisfying to the soul, so full—when all is understood—of the higher, the more spiritual reasoning. We will not find it in the teachings of ancient Athens, in the wonderful philosophy of old Egypt, or in that child of both, the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria. To these systems Sufism undoubtedly owes much, as we have seen. But it has refined upon them, has excogitated for itself a manner of thought beside which they seem almost elementary, and a symbolism and mystic teaching of much greater scope and loftiness.

CHAPTER XII

PAN-ISLAMISM AND AFGHANISTAN

NO details about the current history of Afghanistan will be complete without a mention of the part that that country has played in the so-called " Pan-Islamic Movement." A general survey then of the contemporary affairs of the Moslem world is necessary to appreciate fully the significance of Afghanistan, lying as it does in the vortex of the atmosphere that has agitated the followers of the Prophet for close upon half a century.

Twenty years ago, when the romantic figure of Invar Pasha presided over the destiny of Turkey and the Committee of the Union and Progress had shattered the thraldom of Sultan Abdul Hamid, could it have been imagined that the leaders of that great organisation with which we associated the political resurrection of Modern East would be tried by the National Assembly at Angora and denied even the help of a counsel ? But that is only one of the many ironies of political history which man may not control. Kuchuk Talaat Bey who once defied the mightiness of Abdul Hamid himself recently stood in the dock charged for treason against his country. And neither the real significance of the Grand Moslem Conference which took place in 1926

at Mecca, nor the conditions which brought it to life with its relationship to the future of the British Empire, can be understood without reviewing briefly the history of the Pan-Islamic movement of which it is unquestionably a child. This subject is closely associated with the life and work of Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, and his propaganda has necessarily ramified in different countries of Asia, assuming the local colour in its evolution and progress. I propose, therefore, to begin first from the discussion of the Khalifat movement in India, then deal with Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, and Arabia, concluding the survey by a review of what was discussed at this first Moslem Conference at the head and front of Islam, and what it might portend for the future both to the East and to the West. The Grand Moslem Conference in essence was not an outcome of conditions bringing about the expulsion of King Hussain from Arabia, any more than of events which followed the end of the War and terminating at the dismembering of the Turkish Empire. It dates much earlier than that, for, as historians will attest, its first standard bearer was that wonderful political-sage, Syed Jamaluddin Afghani. This remarkable Afghan happened to be one of those personalities of whom Sultan Abdul Hamid was always in need, and used him for consolidating his personal position as an undisputed head of both the Moslem Church and the State. Jamaluddin was undoubtedly the means of furthering the idea that unity of the

Moslems was essential for the very existence of the Prophet's religion; to that, however, Abdul Hamid made this important addition—that the Moslem Unity was inseparably bound with the recognition of the Sultan of Turkey as the Protector of the Faith. This naturally meant that almost all the Moslem countries were in a manner under the moral and spiritual tutelage of the Sultan, and like other countries India also responded to this voice of Turkey and began to regard Stambol as its spiritual home. The link was more firmly forged when some years ago Zafar Ali Khan, the proprietor of the newspaper *Zamandar* of Lahore, visited Constantinople, and was granted an interview by the Sultan. One can yet recall the political sensation created amongst the Moslems on the return of Zafar Ali Khan to India, and the possibility of immigration of Moslems in Anatolia was freely discussed in India. Then came the Tripoli struggle between the Italians and the Turks. Demonstrations were held in all the chief towns in India, and the M.A.O. College of Aligarh—the representative Moslem institution of the Indians—showed signs of utmost political agitation on behalf of the Turks. Red fezes, generally worn by the students of that college, were burned in the cricket field, as they were of Italian manufacture, and volunteers were got together to go to the help of their co-religionists, both as hospital assistants and as members of the Indian Red Cross Society.

Enormous amounts of money on all sides were

collected to help in the good cause, and the names of Mahomed Ali, as the editor of the *Comrade*, and that of Ansari, who at the time was working in a London hospital, are closely associated with the movement. And there is no doubt whatever that this did a great deal to converge the sympathies of the Indian Moslems towards Turkey, and a further link in that propaganda of Abdul Hamid was added. Then came the Great War, when the Moslems from India faced the Turks in many fields of battle. At the close of that catastrophe a sense of shame crept in the minds of the Indian Mussalmans, not so much perhaps on account of the fact that they themselves in a way were instrumental in bringing about the defeat of their co-religionists, but chiefly for the reason that some leaders of Moslem thought, more for their own political ends rather than due to the sacredness of the cause, had spurred the people on to believe that the link of brotherhood between the Indians and the Turks had sustained a shock, and, in order to wash out their sins, there was nothing but to look to the Turks once again and make amends. It, however, must be emphasised here that the fact that the Indian Moslems had fought against their co-religionists, despite the proclamation of a jihad, has left very bitter memories with the Turks ; and consequently the Angora Nationalists have consistently stated that the sympathies of the Indians for the Turkish aspirations and grievances are ill placed. The writer cannot agree with the view that the Khalifat movement

in India was due to the fact that the Moslem Church, after the war, was faced with the fear of complete ruin as an independent Church, and the awakening to that danger was responsible for the throwing in of the Indian efforts on behalf of the Turks to save the status and the traditions of their religion. Islam as a religion is not a failure and is imperishable, and whatever setbacks its followers have received do not go to prove that it was essentially the fault of the faith that they were following. History is replete with instances to show that the burden of the crime fell always on the moral inadequateness of the individual rather than upon the faith itself. The Khalifat movement in India, therefore, cannot be the outcome of the War alone—though it has undoubtedly brought it to a more prominent place in the public eye—nor indeed is it due to anything more or less than the outward manifestations of the ideas of a certain section of such Indian Mussalmans, who will insist upon linking their aspirations with the Turkish destiny, whether the Turks may have it or not.

The Turks have deposed the Khalifa, and abolished the seat from their country. They hold that the Khalifat, in the real sense of the word, need not be associated or centralised in the person of one man, but according to the Islamic canons can and must be in the hand of a Government or a State, representing general Moslem interests. The whole question in its various aspects has given rise to sharp controversies, and will be still more thoroughly

discussed at the forthcoming Moslem Conferences, but much hope should not be entertained of it, because so long as the theologians of the old order continue to retain the reins of popular imagination, the net results at the Conference will be an estrangement rather than the crystallisation of ideas amongst the Moslem countries. Everything is good at its proper place, and nothing will be achieved by a handful of Mullas jumping at one another's throats at the Conference over some trifling matter of dogma, and leaving the real issues in the background. What may perhaps answer the need is that the younger men, more used to the intricacies of international relations, may guide the deliberations of the Conference. Otherwise the gathering is certain to disperse in chaos and the question remain unsolved.

A section of Moslem opinion seems to think that the Khalifat should be in the hands of the Moslem power which might be strong enough to hold it and be able to bring a renascence in Islam, and in this connection opinion is freely expressed that the office must revert to the Turks. The Moslem fraternity has the right to demand the acceptance of the office by the person elected by them.

But whilst this is the general sentiment of some Moslems regarding the reorganisation of the Khalifat, they seem to forget that the Turkish nation has treated their repeated solicitations in this regard very justifiably with utter contempt. When the Angora Government deprived the

Khalifa of his temporal powers, then a member of the Grand National Assembly, Khaja Shukri Afindi, had published a small book as a protest against the decree, and in it the Afindi endeavoured to advocate the Khalifat case on the lines that for a Khalifa temporal powers were essential. Almost immediately a reply was written to it by Khaja Alhaj Ilyas Sami, Khaja Khilil Khulqi, and Khaja Rasikh. An enormous number of this book was published, but whilst in it much of the matter speaks in justification of the Turkish political attitude, I concern myself here with only that part of it which relates to the Indian point of view as seen by the Angora Government. " The fact is," says the book, " that the real purpose of the Indian Mussalmans is nothing more than displacing the English yoke from their necks, and with a view to that it is as well for them that such countries as Egypt, Iraq, and Palestine, which lie on the English route to India, be placed in the hands of the Moslems." Do these significant quotations not clearly indicate the fact that the Turks consider these sympathetic manifestations of the Indian Moslems due to a selfish cause, and, basing their ideas on this, a disregard towards the Indian Moslem manœuvres is quite comprehensible.

When the naked truth of the ideas of the Indian Mussalmans began to appear to the world, the Khalifatists, perceiving a change in their hold upon the popular sentiments, devised another scheme. This time the hoary game

of religion was once again resorted to. The English were depicted as the real enemies of Islam, who waged wars not so much for economic reasons, but, it was alleged, because of that crusading spirit which had permeated the minds of all the nationals of England. That Britain was out to wipe out Islam. That it was Great Britain who really propped up the Sherif of Mecca. That British bayonets were keeping King Feisul in Iraq, and much else. But although the Government of Mr. Lloyd George did much to discredit the work of both its predecessors and successors, so far as the correct attitude of diplomacy was concerned, yet nothing can be further from the truth than that the mind of the average Britisher is inclined to favour crusade movements. Nor can it be correct to say that the West is planning a world-wide supremacy to the extent of ousting all Eastern influences from Asia, and consequently preparing for a war between the Cross and the Crescent. For it is well known that the present generations in European countries are not animated by any Christian zeal. They are rather devoted to things material, and matters philosophical do not find a prominent place in their future scheme of work. If the Western and Eastern ideals have clashed, it is entirely due to the fact that the Europeans, eager in the pursuit of " matter," have at times found the East coming in their way and tending to hinder their progress in the material gain.

The foregoing has, to some extent, detailed

the innermost tendencies of the minds of popular Khalifatists in India, yet there are others who seem to think that the Khalifat as such is unnecessary. They argue the point from the canons of Islam, inasmuch as by traditions of the Prophet the fifth and the last of the Khalifa was Imam Hussain, and no man after that is to hold that office. Further they state that even if the Khalifat may be assumed to have lasted till recently, then, agreeing to Khawaja Ifindi, a Khalifa ought to possess both the spiritual and temporal powers. One without the other was the negation of the principle, and believing in that theory it is contended that as soon as the last Turkish Khalifa was deprived of his temporal prerogative, by the Angora Nationalists, from that moment he ceased to be Khalifa, and consequently when such a person was exiled, it amounted to this—that a Khalifa was not deposed, but merely a Turkish Prince was dethroned. That incident had, therefore, nothing to do with anybody other than the Turks themselves, and on account of this the question of electing a Khalifa does not arise.

There is yet another section of the Moslems, who take a saner view of the situation. They have clearly seen that the Khalifat, being an old Islamic tradition, must at all cost be kept up, but certain qualifications must also be added to it. Firstly, that a Khalifa of to-day cannot obviously be like the first four Khalifas, when each of them was a Judge, a General, a Statesman, and every form of leadership was his

right and privilege. To-day the sphere of Islam has been extended to the four corners of Asia, and if for nothing more than due to mere geographical conditions, different races, professing Islam, possess different traditions and manners of Government. Their moral and political conditions differ; their aspirations are not always the same. The Moslems of China, for instance, are poles apart from the Moslems of Arabia, although the religion is the same. In view of this fact it is clear that no man can pronounce orders to the faithful all over the world, and expect to be obeyed. How can an Egyptian Khalifa know the requirements of the Moslems of Java, or an Indian Khalifa be aware of what is good for the Mussalmans of Khiva or Turkestan? It is, therefore, very wisely proposed that the Khalifat should not be in the hands of one man, but that every Moslem king or ruler should be the Khalifa of his own people. Nothing can answer the purpose better than some such arrangement, and in a question affecting the great principle of Islam, various heads of the Moslem countries could always meet and discuss Islamic matters.

And how the affairs moved towards a Pan-Islamic end in the Middle East and Central Asia embracing Afghanistan might be reviewed here. In the last decade of the nineteenth century when Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan crossed the Oxus to claim his ancestral throne of Kabul, few could have realised that his efforts were making for the reawakening of the Middle

Eastern peoples. Afghanistan of that period was composed of clans who fought insistently against each other, and the army of the country, though very brave, was but in embryonic condition as any force of character. There was no efficiency and little training amongst the rank and file of the Afghan troops; every man fired or attacked as he thought fit on the occasion.

On ascending the throne he saw the hopeless state of his countrymen—blood feuds were enthusiastically carried out through the length and breadth of the country, the Government offices were run on antediluvian lines, roads were not safe, the treasury was empty; and there was a definite threat to the integrity of Afghanistan both from the side of the British in India and the Russians in Turkestan. He realised that Afghanistan was a "buffer state," which existed on the sufferance of these two great rival powers in the East. Officials in Simla talked freely of "occupation of Kabul," whilst others in Tashkend were casting longing glances towards Northern India, and took the subjugation of Afghanistan as a matter of course.

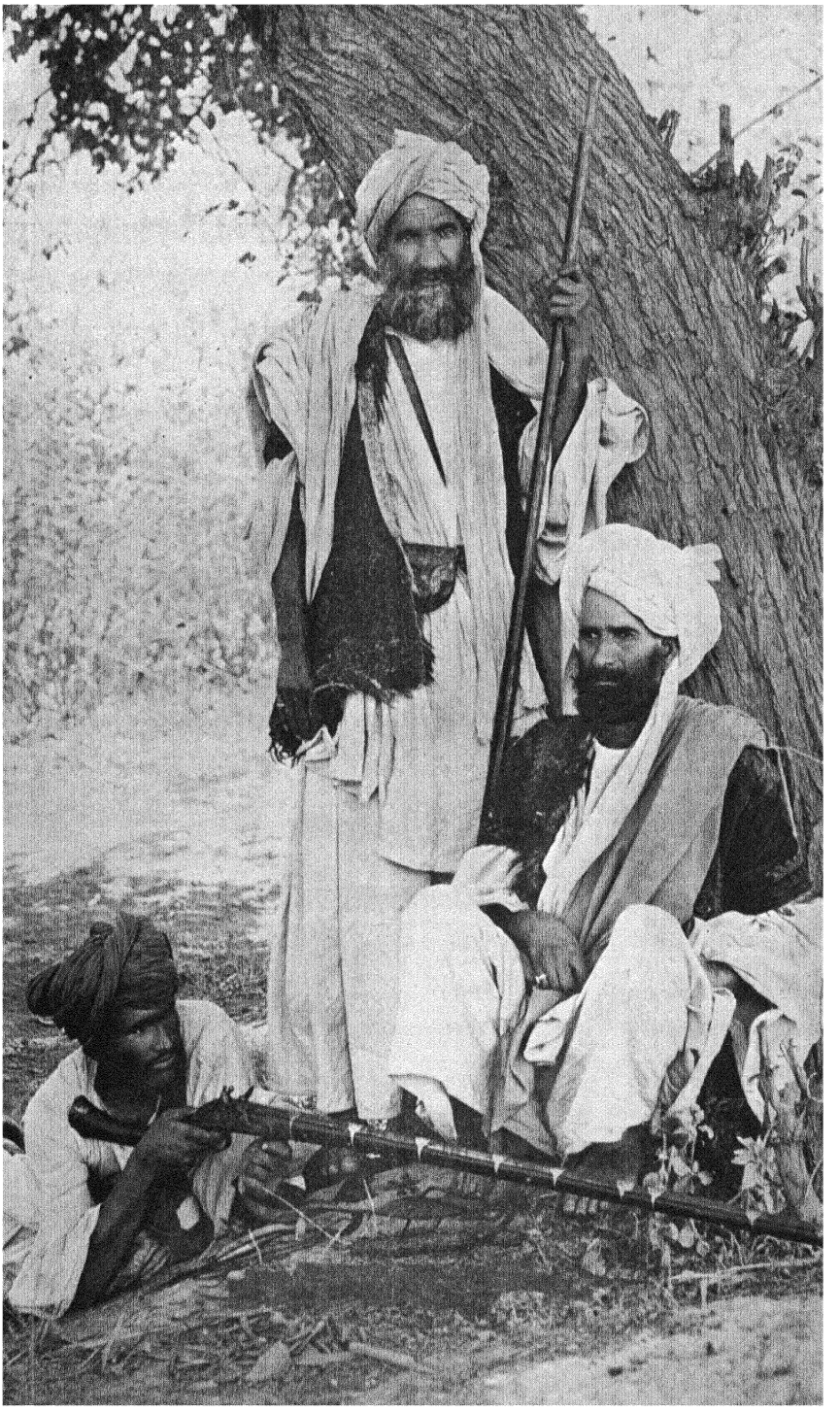
The fear for the safety of their country was indeed so great in the minds of the Afghans of that period that its discussion formed a usual Durbar topic; and it is on record that once when the Ameer was emphasising to his notables the necessity of internal strength he framed his discourse in the form of a parable. Afghanistan, he thought, was like a swan in a pond, and on either side of the water stood the Russian

wolf and the British tiger, both snarling at each other. He observed that, if the water that separated these jealous forces were to dry up, the tiger and the wolf would fight each other to destruction.

"And then which would have the worst of the fight?" asked one of the favourite sons of the monarch, carried away by the atmosphere of the parable.

"I said they would destroy each other," replied the Ameer with a frown; "but the water is still deep," he continued, "and *Inshallah* will remain so."

But let us not surmise from this that Ameer Kabir (Abdur Rahman Khan) was merely regaling the assembly of his notables by pretty stories and taking recourse to parables to expound political situations in and around his country, for, as events have shown, he saw in that dim future a ray of awakening of the Middle East, a renascence of Central Asia. He instituted reforms in the Government, consolidated his position by waging wars against the pretenders in Afghanistan and by reducing the Hazara Country, as well as by a definite conquest of Kafiristan. But all through his distinguished career he had to rely on the power of the nobles, for public opinion as such was hardly noticeable in Afghanistan of half a century ago. One of his great achievements which showed his undoubted capacity of statesmanship was that he trained his successor in the art of government in a manner that an Eastern ruler only can, to



Zaka Khail Afridi tribesmen, the neighbours of the Afghans in the Khyber Pass.

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suit the future conditions of the Kabul dominions. Indeed, he often used to say that, had Napoleon trained another man in his lifetime to succeed him, the Bonapartes would have ruled France for centuries, and he attributed the decline of the Mughal Power in India to the fact that the later monarchs of that country took little or no care regarding the upbringing of the heirs to the throne. As a net result of that steady policy of Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan, what did we find at the close of his reign? The country was no longer infested by brigands, law and order was current, and the rival jealousies of the nobles were appreciably diminished because the mountain country was given a definite shape of a state destined to play a significant part in the history of Islam. It is to the Ameer Kabir (Abdur Rahman Khan) that the modern Afghanistan owes a great deal of its present cohesion and power.

It was, however, "not written" that Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan was to live long enough to reap the benefits of his labours, for he passed away when the kingdom of Kabul was yet in the making. His illustrious son Ameer Shaheed (Habibullah Khan) ascended the throne and found it all plain sailing. Quiet prevailed everywhere, development of industry and commerce formed a large part of Ameer Habibullah Khan's programme. He intensified in matters of purely domestic character to make Afghanistan rich, prosperous, and a self-sufficient country, and, like his father, continued to rely on the support of the nobles of the realm. In his effort to evolve

a new Afghanistan the late Ameer unfortunately was inclined to pay little heed to those inexplicable ties that have bound the various Islamic countries together for thirteen long centuries. He thought that in his attempt of political self-sufficiency—as perhaps detached from Pan-Islamism—he was merely acting with the spirit of the age when sentiment must give place to value. That that attitude was erroneous was patent to everybody but to the Ameer : the body politic of Al Islam is independent of all European auto-suggestions in many spheres of life. And this was singularly well manifested when at the outbreak of the Great War there was much excitement in Kabul over the Turkish entry in the conflict, and, in his endeavour to hold his people from participation in it, the late Ameer had found his position often untenable.

When I think of Ameer Habibullah I cannot help recalling a date which stands out prominently in the recent history of my country. One fine morning, not so many years ago, the Ameer's bodyguard was drawn up in front of the palace in Kabul. Young officers galloped their horses through the files, shouting Turkish commands to their men, motor-cars were thumping at the gate, as a few privileged elders of the city, clinging to the garden railing, watched the parade. Anon, a silence pervaded the scene. "Alla Hazrat, Ameer Sahib!" shouted the Chamberlain. The impressive quiet of the moment was awe-inspiring; you could hear your heart beating, as the stout, well-dressed,

and middle-aged monarch of the " God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul " stepped out from the main door of his palace. He walked slowly between the rows of soldiers. A number of Sirdars, high officials, and the Court hangers-on followed him. How wonderful to see him board his glorious motor-car, which was about to take him to Lughman, where he was bound for a little rest and some shikar. That last phase of him, that parade, and the gorgeous spectacle is still vivid in my mind. And as we all know, he never returned to his capital, but rests for ever at Lughman.

As the news of Habibullah's death reached Kabul, the whole city was plunged into deep mourning ; for, despite his drawbacks, the late King was loved by an influential section of the nobles. Indeed, towards the latter part of his reign, the late King more truly represented the vested interests of the nobility of his country rather than the Afghan nation. Nor did his visit to India stand him in good stead, as, from the time of his return from Hindustan, both his power and prestige were on the downward course, till an assassin's bullet laid him to eternal rest. But mourning though there was, it was merely superficial with those who mattered in Kabul, and busy-bodies were bestirred. Was Afghanistan to be precipitated into one of those internecine wars which visit that country at the close of an Afghan monarch's life? There was great fear of it. But, paradoxical as it may appear, on that solitary occasion Afghan history

did not repeat itself, for Amanullah jumped into the arena, realising that, while the country was still reeling under the impact of the blow, he must act instantly, decidedly, and firmly. As events showed, that quick decision which he put into practical form saved an internecine struggle and secured for him the throne into the bargain. The triumph of Amanullah is not entirely due to the Anglo-Afghan war of 1919, which many jingo Imperialists believe to be the case, for he had won the hearts of his people a long time prior to that affair, long, even, before his father's death. He was always a hero to the man in the street, for he noticed that public opinion amongst the Afghans was crystallising. The triumph of King Amanullah is the triumph of Afghan public opinion.

On ascending the throne of a New Afghanistan, he continued to bestow attention on popular aspirations, and, perceiving that the people were fretting under the yoke of the nobles, he gave way to the rising tide of Afghan public opinion. He emphasised the fact—which disgusted the nobility—that he was the representative of the masses, a King risen out of the humble ranks of his kinsmen. Again, he owes his further popularity to the fact that, not being the eldest son of his father, he had the good fortune of not having been born heir to the throne, and thus escaping the hot-house upbringing of would-be Ameers of Afghanistan. His appreciation of the rights of the people, coupled with his unaffected and simple manner, account for his success. He

goes about disguised at night in the streets of Kabul to examine into the conditions of life of the poorer people. He is the idol of the Army, and since he had ordered the general meeting of the tribesmen of the Eastern districts of his country to take place every year, where all matters appertaining to the moral and material aspects of the clansmen are to be discussed, he has come to be looked upon as a champion of a representative form of government. He is devoting a great deal of thought to matters educational.

King Amanullah was greatly assisted in shifting old Afghan scenes by two very significant Afghan personalities who have loomed large in regard to the New Afghanistan. One of them, Mahmud Baig Tarzi, immediately after the proclamation of Afghan independence, was entrusted with the work of the Foreign Office at Kabul. And could one have imagined that an Afghan noble, living in exile in the Levant and married to a Turkish lady, was one day destined to be both Foreign Minister at Kabul and the father-in-law of the King of the Afghans?

In his leisure hours the veteran politician of Afghanistan still keeps up his pursuit of writing fiction in his inimitable Persian style.

Another figure of considerable importance is General Nadir Khan, once the Commander-in-Chief of Afghan forces and till recently Afghan Minister in Paris: and he, like Mahmud Baig Tarzi, had also been an exile in India at Dehra Dun till his revered father was permitted to

return to Kabul. General Nadir Khan has the rare distinction of being both a diplomat and a man of the sword. During his term of office at the head of the Army people stigmatised him as cruel to the core, but he was cruel because he was engaged in a cruel game. The analogy in this respect between his reputation and that of the late Ameer Abdur Rahman is close, for when the Ameer was asked as to whether he did not rule with an iron hand, " Yes, I do so," he is said to have replied, " because I rule an iron people." Nadir Khan's case is similar, for you cannot afford to have a kind heart when you go out to kill or to be killed. No three men in Afghanistan so filled the drama of action of their country within living memory as H.M. the Ameer, Tarzai, and Nadir Khan, and will have an enduring place in the Middle-Eastern history of our times.

The Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Khokand, which lie scattered on the north of Afghanistan in Central Asia, are peopled by the Kerghiz, the Tajik, and the Uzbecks. It is indeed tragic that these three Islamic States should be such poor representatives of the Knightly Khalifat of Bokhara. They have dwindled down to almost nothingness, and Khokand as an estate has disappeared. To an average European that part of the Middle East was associated with " the Russian march to India " question of Czarist times. That slow but sure progress of John Company in India towards the Khyber, and a purposeful advance

of Imperialist Russia down Orenburg on the Aaral Sea, placed the old Ameers of Khiva and Bokhara in the predicament of " the swan," as Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan related in a parable. The earlier histories of that remote part of Asia are full of such discussions as: The Secret Russian Mission to Merve; The Herat Question; A Lesson Lost on Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; Project to Send Baku Oil to India; and the like. And most that can be said about the evolution and progress of Central Asia is that, having lumbered their way along Anglo-Russian diplomacies, the rulers of that region just managed to keep a semblance of power and had but little prestige. They were a locked-in people, yet every fibre of their heart vibrated with Islamic attachment. When Soviet Russia came upon the scene, the old order in the Khanates was altered, republics now rule the Uzbecks, the old monarch of Bokhara was driven out of the country and lives as a guest of the Afghans in Qilla Murad near Kabul. The Russian authorities are none too happy in Central Asia now, for a strong resistance is offered by the old monarchists from their stronghold in Ferghana. The danger to the situation is so great that one of the Soviet military commissars, Kuzmin, is distressed by persistent guerilla warfare of Basmachi of Turkestan, and it is feared that the Ameer of Bokhara might return to Central Asia.

The Turkish Sultans, chiefly the Sultan Abdul Hamid, were well aware that the Uzbeck states

of Central Asia were not a strong link to a Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turanian movement, for Imperialist Russia was sapping the resources of the country, but it was thought that, if nothing else, the mere force of numbers should count in any Pan-Turanian or Pan-Islamic movement: for the entire stock of the Central Asias—with few exceptions—are a Turki-speaking and Moslem people. These Ameers of the Khanates were, therefore, drawn in by hereditary titles from the Khalifa. The ruler of Bokhara was, for instance, honoured by a title of " the torch-bearer of the religion," that of Khiva gloried in the fact that he was " the Custodian of Islamic Standard "—furthermore, annual gifts were exchanged between the Khalifa and the Ameers of Bokhara and Khiva. Within recent times, however, the father of modern Pan-Turanic movement, Invar Pasha, was helping the Uzbecks at Ferghana to steady their racial identity, and cement the international bond of Al Islam. The significance of the movement is emphasised by the fact that the craving of the Central Asians did not die with Invar Pasha; it is still to the fore both in Ferghana and in the mountains of Kashgar. These facts show a marked tendency of the Middle East towards reawakening, first to nationalism and then to a Mahomedan Internationalism—an Islamic World Confederacy. Conditions in Persia, the Hijaz, and in Turkey would also repay close examination in tracing this movement of reawakening of the Islamic East with their associations to world diplomacy.

There is a considerable number of people in old Asia who frown down on the progress of nationalism in Turkey. The removal of the seat of Khalifat from Turkey might be justified on political grounds, but the ultra-liberalism of women, the discarding of the national headgear, the relaxing of marriage laws are all facts which are generally disapproved by a number of well-wishers of Turkey in the East. They say that ruthlessly to run down one's own traditions is tantamount to being ignorant of one's real culture: and it is further added that ancient Islamic culture can never be inferior to any other provided it is rightly practised and is capable of being interpreted to suit any conditions of life. If Turkey is to remain as a member of Moslem Confederacy, a unit of body politic of Al Islam, then not an inconsiderable number of Mahomedan thinkers believe that Turkey has gone too far towards Westernisation and a time has come to call a halt.

This brings me at once to a very difficult question, for one may ask whether the modern culture and all the civilisation which the West stands for is ill-suited to the Islamic world. There is no doubt in my mind that if the entire system of European materialism was absorbed by the East it will distinctly harm Oriental traditions of the past.

Some confident theorists, endeavouring to vindicate certain anti-Eastern actions of "progressive Oriental peoples," have urged that the old order of the darkest portions of Asia must be

swept off clean, before ever it is possible for the New East even to hold its own against the rising tide of European scientific civilisation. That is, in part, true, but if ever a day comes when an Easterner is more European than the Westerner himself, that day will show to the world that the Oriental is no asset to either his nation or to mankind generally. The two mentalities—those of the East and the West—differ materially amongst average men, and it is of average men that I speak, not of the internationalists or the spiritually gifted. Such men do not differ in any part of the world, and are a class by themselves.

But the foregoing should not be taken as an attack on Western civilisation. What must be emphasised is that the culture of the West in its entirety cannot be successfully grafted to the East. It means that you take a recluse from his placid life of cloister where he had lived in deep meditation, brooding over the higher philosophy of life and death, and when still in a state of half trance; you hustle him along the Strand in London and ask him to cross the road at the corner of Wellington Street unaided. You say to him, "Be quick about it, old man! Look alive, mind the taxis, the buses, and the motor cycles." He fails to grasp the meaning of all the hurry and scurry, of noise, of the shouting of newsboys at street corners. Why all this, he wonders. Is this the fruit of civilisation? Are they not styling the swift modes of transport, the telegraph, the wireless, the telephone, as human happiness? Do they observe

the human tragedy behind it all? Are they happier in their frenzy of excitement, in their survival of the fittest, than I in my unperturbed and contented existence?

That is then the difference between the East and the West in all walks of life; and these points of psychology have very close associations with the present-day movements in the New World of Islam. Amongst the Moslem elements there is a certain basis of philosophy as distinctly opposed to pure materialism, which the wiseacres of Islam are trying to reconcile. What exactly has happened in the Mahomedan countries is that both the State and the Church for a century or more have been placed under the priestly hierarchy backed by autocratic thraldom of monarchs. If one traces the origin of all these movements which have stirred the East, he would find that the evil has spread through one or the other two causes which I have enumerated. Modern Islam, with its hierarchy of priesthood, gross fanaticism engendered by the clergy, appalling ignorance of essence of the faith, and superstitious practices, is a discredit to the Islam of the Prophet. Mahomedans are free to adopt whatever is good in any civilisation, but they may not lose their identity by supplementing their age-long beliefs and practices to conform to a curious saying that a true patriot is a lover of another man's country. To Westernise the East partially would no doubt have its advantages, inasmuch as in matters of material development, in commerce and industry, Islam

cannot afford to lag behind its neighbours; but that is so far as one should go. Social habits and a general gloss of the West of Asia is alien to its nature. True, these manifestations are natural concomitants of industrial development, for there are few men even in the East who after eight hours' work in a cotton factory would willingly read philosophy when they reach home; but if they cannot read philosophy after a hard day's labour they should not be encouraged to sit about in a café till two in the morning. The one important matter in this evolutionary process of New Asia is to observe that the Western influence which is imported into the East has all the good points of European culture omitted. It has copied, in most cases, the very worst traits of human character. Men from the backwoods of Europe are taken to be the real representatives of their race and tradition. They do not, for instance, understand that to know the true characteristics of Englishmen one must visit them in their homes.

It is precisely these questions which H.M. Sultan Ibin Saud, the ruler of the Hijaz and the custodian of the Holy Shrines of Islam, desired the delegates of the All World Moslem Conference to discuss when he convened an international meeting at Mecca last summer. He belongs to the Wahabi sect, whose cry is "back to the Koran"; "back to the Prophet." In the first instance, those representatives to the Conference who were not Wahabis were inclined to be in disagreement with the practices of the

particular sect to which Sultan Ibin Saud belongs; but it was soon made clear that it was an all-Islamic gathering and not one of sectarianism. All should be imbued with the one important feeling to expurgate the weakness of Islam and give it the strength that it undoubtedly needed to-day as a result of the Western Impact. Almost all the nationalities of the Islamic World were represented; there were Javanese, Indians, Egyptians, Turks, Afghans, and others. At the conference two distinct sections of thought were discernible, one was composed of those who had experienced a European influence in some direct form, whilst the other comprised those who had kept closely to their own sphere and were not affected by the Western progress in any appreciable degree. Sharp controversies, as can be imagined, arose between the two schools of thought, but all were agreed that the time had come for a united action towards refining modern Islam, and removing all the unnecessary reservations and practices that had crept into the faith. It was rightly contended that the decadent Islam can only stand its ground if a vigorous endeavour was made to bring a moral uplift amongst its rank and file. From this would grow a strong Moslem generation armed by the modern science of materialism. Correct morality, however, was the first to be acquired, for all weakness in Islamic armour was traced to a decline of morality of true Islam. In unofficial meetings outside the Conference hall, the representatives had not

omitted to discuss the future programme of Islamic education. Time and again it was emphasised that the education should be kept entirely free from all external control. What an Islamic institution should attempt to do was to inspire the youth with a staunch faith in the destiny of his culture and to provide him with the education necessary to combat the superstitious veneration of any country or race; if that should make him self-respecting it might not mould his character into one of disrespect to other forms of civilisation different to his own. He was to have a deep appreciation of Islamic traditions; and have his individuality acknowledged as a member of foremost societies of the world, not ignoring, however, the mission he bore to mankind.

Then there is another aspect of the question. Does the rise of the Turkish nationalism, as suggestive of local patriotism, indicate a revolt against Islam? In the light of progress which the world is seeking, it does not. If we are to judge the modern Turkey we must recapitulate the events that brought the present nationalism into being. Turkey had been the most disturbed area in Europe for pretty nearly thirty years in some form or other. The Turk of to-day has revolted against priest-craft and the thraldom of his rulers. It is only a reaction against the clergy and the despot, and no revolt or even a real attempt to alienate from the faith of his fathers. How can it be otherwise; for did not the ancestors of these Turks fight and

bleed in the cause of Islam for centuries together ? and " does it stand to reason," as a Turkish gentleman put it to me, " that the nation which nurtured the frail plant of Islam by its own blood—its life sap—for centuries should now stamp upon the young shoots of that plant, and pull its roots out of the ground ? " Even during the war, when the Shiekhul Islam at Constantinople proclaimed a Holy War, many Mahomedans fought against the Turks in various battles. When the Moslems cast the " irreligious practices " in the teeth of the Turks, they ought to think of these facts. The Turks will revert to the true call of Islam and there is no doubt that, when the first force of the deluge of materialism is over, the tide will flow backwards—" back to the Koran."

In the realm of politics we observe that strong ties of diplomatic alliances now bind the various Islamic countries, especially in this important fact—that even Persia—a Shiah country—does no longer give prominence to sectarian differences and shares equally in the hopes and fears of entire Moslem world. That is very largely due to the single-minded purpose of her ruler, H.M. Raza Shah Pahlavi, who has encouraged a healthy growth of public opinion amongst his people. Cordial relationships that now exist between Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey are the results of modern growth of Eastern nations. To Moslems conversant with the real motions of the Neo-Egyptian, Neo-Turkish and nationalisms of other Mahomedan peoples stand as an

earnest effort to withstand European competition. An effort which should not be regarded as meaning a challenge, but merely as a wholesome evolution. Islamic countries are more closely knit to-day than at any time during their recent history. Does that union portend to develop on aggressive lines, and present a menace to the peace of the world? In its essence all focusing of Moslem ideas must revert to its original canons of peace—"live and let live" as its watchword; and although during the progress of its history occasionally these injunctions of Islam might not have been strictly adhered to, for that the individual and not the cult itself is responsible. Even to-day in every turn we do not fail to notice men erring against the most accepted laws of civilisation. But if Islam is strengthening itself, it is active materially simply because "a weakling has no right to existence," for such is the cruel law of nature. The Moslem world of to-morrow will threaten no one who is willing to tolerate its unfettered existence; in the meantime, however, a great deal of spade work has to be done by the Moslems before they can emancipate from the incubus of social and political drawbacks in their local spheres, which they themselves have imported. The renascence of Islam more truly means an honest attempt to win back the cherished heritage of early Moslems, "turn their face from the glitter of tawdry tinsels of materialism," and act in the true spirit of the Prophet of Mecca.

Tribesmen of the Khyber, the Pass which is the gateway between Afghanistan and India.

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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGION IN AFGHANISTAN

THE State religion in Afghanistan is Islam. The majority of the inhabitants belong to the Sunni sect, while the Afghans of Persian origin, the Hazaras, and the Afghan Turis of the Kurram border are Shiahs. Till quite recently the religious thraldom of the priests in Afghanistan was complete, and incidents are not unknown when the throne had felt that its security to a very large extent lay in being favourably disposed towards the fanatical Mullas. The influence that the clergy exercise upon the people centres round the proclamation of the holy war, or jihad. The orthodox law of Islam known as Sharah is emphasised both in legal procedure as also in governing the everyday life of an Afghan ; for prayers five times a day, the pilgrimage to Mecca, the proportionate distribution of charity, and the fasting (corresponding to Lent) are practices which must be respected by everyone in the kingdom of Kabul.

Public offices allow their members time to offer prayers during working hours, and Fridays are regarded as general holidays in the Government offices, while the merchant may do his business only after the *juma* prayer of that day. During the month of fasting, or Ramazan, both

business in the markets and work in offices are considerably decreased, because an Afghan Moslem must fast every day of the month from sunrise to sunset. No one unless ill or on an arduous journey is exempted from fasting. The pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during the lifetime is enjoined upon the faithful, and this command of Allah is most enthusiastically responded to by the Afghans in general whenever they can afford it. Then a certain amount of their earnings must be given as *zakat*, or pious charity, which is in most cases controlled and disbursed by the governments of each Afghan province and is faithfully employed to the relief of the indigent poor and the destitute invalids.

The accepted principles of the Hanafee or the Sunni sect being current, a sense of conservatism in matters religious was indicated by the Afghans during their recent history. Indeed, it is said that some had bordered upon fanaticism. In support of this the following points were made: that it was ordered that the Hindus should wear a distinctive headgear, that the Shiahs were not to make public demonstration on the days of Moharrum in commemoration of the Battle of Martyrs, that the plinth of their mosques should be five feet lower than the mosques of the established Church, that the Hindu girls and women were to use red or mustard-yellow *burga*, or the veil, that the non-admittance of the Christian missionaries in the Afghan territory was prohibited, and that Qadyani missionaries, both during Ameer Habibullah Khan's and the

present ruler's reign, were killed, for preaching the gospel of the Ahmedi sect. The whole really meant that there was no religious toleration in Afghanistan. It is only a half-truth, and a close examination will repay study.

In the case of the headgear of the Hindus and the womenfolk adopting differently coloured outdoor garb, one must not omit the fact that Afghanistan is a Moslem country where the religious observances of that faith are enforced rigorously. If during the month of fasting a man was seen eating food in the street during the day, his action constituted a breach of public morals, because he was expected to be fasting. Frequently, however, when such cases were brought before the authorities, it was found that the offender did not belong to the religion of the Prophet of Mecca, and, being a Hindu, had really not committed any crime by not observing the fast. He wore the same dress as the Moslem Afghans, and spoke the same language. To save the difficulty both to the administration and the subjects of the King of Afghanistan, a distinctive dress was ordered to be worn. Much of this applies in the case of the red-coloured *burgas* of the Hindu women. No slight was intended upon the Hindus, as the members of that community in Afghanistan form the backbone of the finances of that country.

The Kizalbash elements in Kabul and in the western provinces of Afghanistan are never known to have been placed under any stringent regulations as regards their religious festivals.

The truth about the fact that their places of worship should be five feet lower than those of the Sunnis was never substantiated; whilst the spectacular demonstration of mourning during the Moharrum is a practice which many of their own intelligent Shiah reformers do not favour, and no executive of Afghanistan is regarded as efficient without a strong leaven of the gifted members of that Shiah creed. Their prestige in Afghanistan has always been upheld in the Ameer's country. But great misgivings exist about the so-called " stoning to death " of the Qadyanis in Afghanistan. During the reign of Ameer Habibullah Khan, when a party of Ahmedis applied for permission to enter Afghanistan for the purpose of proselytising, the clergy of the established religion very naturally resented it, and a rebellion was threatened against the Crown. The Ameer, in accordance with his liberal and tolerant religious outlook, arranged a compromise by which the learned Qadyanis should discuss the religious canons with the Afghan doctors of the Sunni faith. Before the two sections met it was contracted that if the Mullas of Afghanistan were convinced by the reasoning of the Qadyanis of India, then their missionary propaganda would be permitted in the Afghan territory. The professors of the rival religious schools, however, duly met in the great mosque at Kabul. Religious discussions took place before large gatherings of the faithful, many books were consulted, and at least twice the conference approached the point of a break-down

and deadlocks ensued not infrequently; but it being a momentous step for the ruler at Kabul, the discussions were encouraged by the Ameer till the entire congregation, after hearing both sides with the co-operation of the Indian and Egyptian "religious observers," decided that the established Sunni tenets remain justified, and the Ahmedi claims regarding Mirza Sahib of Qadyan as being the promised Messiah were unacceptable. The conference having unanimously decided in favour of a ban on the Ahmedi missionary propaganda throughout the God-Gifted Kingdom of Kabul, a written request to that effect was sent to H.M. Ameer Habibullah Khan, who having signed it—thus setting seal upon the pleasure of his subjects—read it to the Qadyanis, and their mission returned to India.

It was further pointed out that in a country where Islamic law was current, and the Word of Allah was a proclaimed, acknowledged, and established Church of the State, any propaganda against such a system of religion was punishable by death, and that several commandments regarding *irtadad*, or infidelity, were emphasised upon the clergy of Qadyan.

These proceedings, it was considered, were sufficiently definite to make it clear to the Ahmedis that they would be endangering their lives if they visited Afghanistan on a proselytising mission. Additional odium of unpopularity was placed upon the followers of Mirza Sahib when the Ahmedis proclaimed that their religious

reformer was not only a reformer but a prophet of Allah. This belief, as is generally known, runs directly contrary to the first principles of Islam, by which a Moslem must believe that the Prophet Mahomed was the last of the prophets, and the Koran the last word of Allah.

Despite these warnings, men came from Qadyan to preach their gospel in Afghanistan, and an open defiance of the above-mentioned decree cost them their lives.

The whole plethora of these sad events was made more regrettable by the cheap journalism of Indian papers, especially when Mohamed Ali, the notorious anti-British Indian agitator, and his brother, Shaukat Ali, of the Khalifat propaganda, denounced the "stoning" of Molvi Namiamatullah Khan. The younger of the Ali Brothers wrote column after column in his vernacular paper against Afghanistan and always missed the mark. The head of the Ahmedi sect in Qadyan sent protests to the League of Nations, and both steps served only to alienate farther the Afghan sympathy from the "prophet of Qadyan."

But the other aspect of the Afghan religious question should not be overlooked. All along the contemporary history the King at Kabul has felt the necessity of centralising the bulk of the executive functions in his person.

This was essential if he was to retain his hold upon the country where, if not the "divine right of kings," certainly "individualism" in the Crown must be the prime factor in the

Government. To achieve this the active co-operation of the Mullas, or the clergy, is of great significance. As the bulk of the people still live under the spell of the clergy, through the agency of the Mullas the King at Kabul can add to his power, and through their instrumentality too he can very materially suffer in his prestige and control. The frowns of the clergy of Afghanistan can imperil the safety of the Afghan King or threaten his throne, as their blessings can consolidate his strength. I am prepared to hazard the opinion that this state of affairs is not entirely an unwholesome factor in the politics of Afghanistan. Frankly this influence is both advantageous and undesirable. It is favourable to the Afghan conditions for the reason that the preaching of the Mulla keeps up the martial spirit of the Afghan at white heat. That spirit is the one great and sure guarantee for the independence of Afghanistan. From what I have seen of the development of a sense of nationalism both in the East and the West, I have no hesitation in saying that the spirit of nationalism alone is not sufficient to safeguard the interests of Afghanistan in the "civilised" world. With the progress of nationalism it is the economic factors that impel mankind to defence and struggle; and political economy is controlled by world finance and wide consideration of commerce and industry. Wheels then appear within wheels, and no one can say precisely whether the laws of production and distribution alone, if introduced into the

life-sap of the Afghans, will preserve the militant aspect of their character to the extent of safeguarding their independence, situated as they are between two great empires. A strong hold of religion upon the imagination of the Afghans is distinctly indicated. That may be a curious reasoning, but it is indisputably true of tendencies obtaining in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that the fanatical teaching of the Mullas has harmed the progress of that country. The outlook of the people is circumscribed and a state of self-sufficiency is instilled as the best of the virtues. Slightest digression from the priest-made dogmas is frowned down upon and the ideas of an advancing age are taken into no cognisance. The lack of education, of course, adds to the attachment of the people to the word of the clergy, for what they have not read or are incapable of reading must be true, they think, because the Mulla said so. The clergy would not conceive of any modernisation; as the laws of Allah are unalterable, so also is the life of man. What was good enough during the reign of Ahmed Shah Abdali is good enough for King Amanullah, and consequently no new laws are required; indeed, laws are good for nobody; the aeroplane was an afrit, the wireless the voice of the devil, the railway an unclean dangerous contraption; in short, this life was not for the faithful; he must always look to the next and delight in the thought that cool shades of Allah's bowers are awaiting him, and

if he dares not to listen to the word of the Mulla then he would burn with the faggots of hell for a period till he is purified. The village yokels listen to the priest, for the holy man has the power to recite the Koran, lead the prayer, catch his breath longer than most of them, spot the herb the paste of which will cure the gum-boil, grant a charm that will render him immune to the shot of the enemy. He can discourse upon the Bridge of Sirat over which man's soul must pass, and, above all, is a son of a reputed Mulla and a guest of the village.

Now, this inclination of the Afghans was fully appreciated by Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan as soon as he crossed the Oxus to mount the throne which awaited him at Kabul. In the autumn of 1895, when the Chitral question had been decided and the Ameer, after the successful campaign in Kafiristan, was pursuing theological studies, his ingenious mind evolved the scheme of writing a religious treatise upon the duties of a Moslem. Mulla Said Akbar, the Salar Faqeer, and other divines were invited by him to the capital so that he might read to them his book, *Twakim-ud-din*, on March 21st, 1896. The Mullas enthusiastically welcomed the Ameer's work, and not only welcomed him as the head of the State, but also considered him worthy to be styled as the head of the Church. At the great celebration of the Idd on May 25th of the same year the clergy of the realm bestowed upon him the title of Ziaul-Millat-Wadd-din, meaning the Light of the State and the Faith.

Not only was advantage taken of this favourable disposition of the Mullas by having himself indisputably acknowledged as the head of the Church in Afghanistan, but also he adopted the remarkable policy of taking the most influential Mullas in the service of his Government. In virtue of their service to the Government of Kabul, the anti-monarchist propaganda of the clergy was made impossible.

Ameer Habibullah Khan also received a religious title from the clergy of Afghanistan which read as Sirajul-Millat-Wadd-din, but incurred the intense displeasure of the orthodox Church after his visit to India in 1906 by becoming a Freemason, for the Mullas thought that their King had revolted from the faith of his fathers by enrolling into a cult regarding which none knew anything; and the Ameer himself was unwilling to give out any secrets. Taking the open volume of the Koran in his hand, the Ameer swore that there was nothing against Islam in Freemasonry. "Yes! Yes!" yelled a Mulla. "With due respect to the Crown, the Ameer Sahib is speaking negatively." Conscious of the great prestige and power of the priest-ridden hill warriors of Afghan uplands, the Mulla continued: "What we want to know is not what Freemasonry is not but what Freemasonry is." It was the timely remark of a courtier that saved an awkward predicament in which the Ameer was placed.

Latterly, during the reign of the present King, we have had instances of both the love and hate

of the clergy of Afghanistan which influenced politics there. The affection of the Mulla in the early part of King Amanullah Khan's reign greatly assisted the task of the new monarch at Kabul, but with the introduction of the Nazam Namah, or the Reformed Laws, an open rebellion took place at Khost, in Southern Afghanistan, which, although quelled, yet has left its morals.

A general review of the religious affairs as they are controlled by the clergy of Afghanistan that I have endeavoured to give above is sufficient to prove the fact that the position of a king at Kabul has never been an enviable one. Certain conditions that arise at Kabul and baffle the outside world by the absence of explanation in a Western sense are not wholly detachable from the priestly influences at the Court. The King is frequently called upon to adjust the balance between an awakened Afghanistan and a conservative Afghanistan. The latter is still living under the thraldom of the clergy; sometimes, indeed, the challenge of the Mullas is so definite that the greatest of care has to be exercised to stave off the difficulties. The religion of Afghanistan deserves close study from all students of history of the Middle East. It is not fanaticism in the sense that it is a belief which admits no other point of view; rather it is a politic-religious culture peculiar to Afghanistan, though essentially Sunni and Islamic.

CHAPTER XIV

RACE MOVEMENT IN AFGHAN TURKESTAN

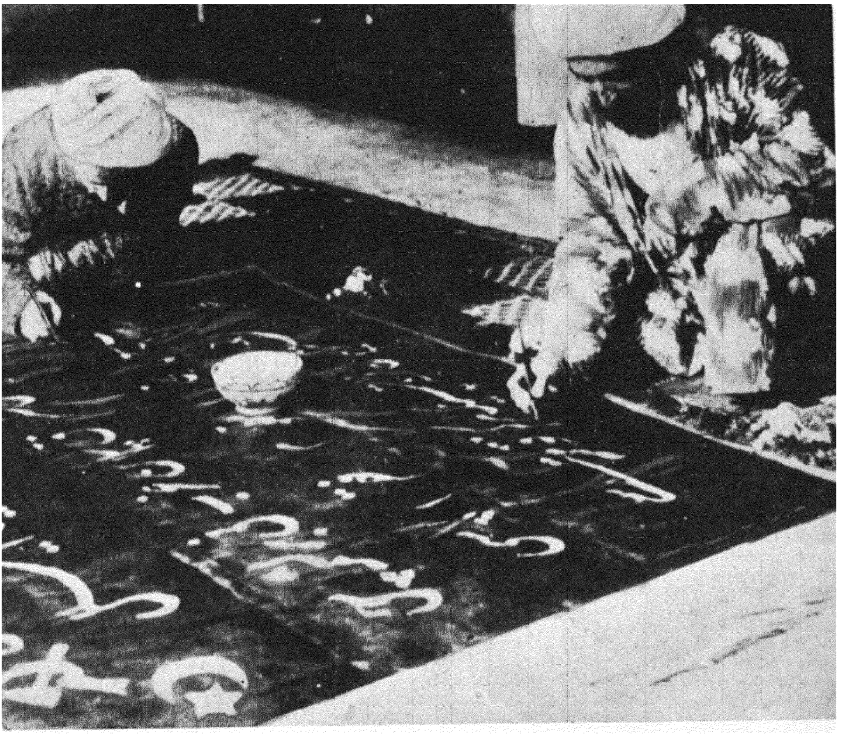
EVER since the Bolshevik advent in Central Asia, and the dethroning of the Khans of Bokhara and Khiva by proclaiming the Uzbek states as Independent Soviet Republics, a political uneasiness has been felt in the Afghan-Turkestan region in that part of H.M. King Amanullah Khan's dominions which lie on the south of the river Oxus. The reason is not far to seek. The people who inhabit the Bokharian Khanate are now living under a system of Government which takes its cue from Moscow, and it is quite conceivable that the Afghan subjects of Uzbek stock in the regions of Faizabad, Kanduz, and Khlum might have compared their political condition with that of their kinsmen across the Oxus. Recently the Afghan King paid a visit to his Afghan-Turkestan province to pacify those who appeared to be fretting, and impressed upon them the necessity and wisdom of continuing to remain loyal to the system of Government under which their fathers had lived and died. The results of the northern tour of King Amanullah are said to have been singularly successful, and all unrest is believed to have been removed; but the circumstance is not wholly without its lessons, and opens an

avenue of thought to the students of the Middle Eastern affairs. In relation to the future political potentialities of this problem, it is necessary to study the awakening of the Russian Moslems, as the subject may have very pertinent bearing upon the Afghanistan of to-morrow.

The general political conscientiousness perceptible amongst the Moslems in Russia to-day proves the contention that had the Czars outgrown the periods of barbaric methods of their rule, if not their barbaric instincts, then the history of Central Asia would certainly have been different. Tyranny in all its unseemly forms was the sole policy of Imperial Russia, for a general plan of Russification was taken in hand, which included the imposition by force of the use of Russian as the " national language." The Moslems of Azarbaijan, like the Poles, revolted against the measure, and consequently became an especial object of Czarist thraldom. No Turkish literature was permitted to enter Caucasus, and rigid passport regulations were imposed to ensure separation of the Central Asians and the Turks. Sultan Abdul Hamid refused to see the rising tide of Pan-Turanism, or perhaps perceiving a personal danger in it, willingly closed his eyes to the Russian excesses. That period marks a definite birth of Pan-Turanism, for the enlightened Russian Moslems groaned under the Czars and in Turkey a storm was brewing against Abdul Hamid. The two parties had joined hands much earlier than is generally known.

At the fall of the Sultan the Central Asians took heart, and their communal urge was reflected by a rising in Andijan. When the revolt was ruthlessly put down, Mufti Alamjan, Ismail Ghazanfriski, Hasen Zade, and Shafiqa Khanum continued the movement till the Czar's minions, endeavouring to stifle Pan-Turanism, invaded the domain of religion by not recognising the Muftis appointed by the Shiekhul Islam, and replaced them by slavish vendors of religious decrees trained at Saint Petersburg. A struggle continued between the Czar and his Moslem subjects till, after a considerable number of Azarbaijanians, Uzbeks, and Turkomans had been exiled to Siberia, in 1906 the first Moslem benevolent society was permitted to be organised in Baku and the first Moslem University to be opened in Kazan. Mufti Alamjan, the soul of this political resurrection of the Russian Moslems, had, however, become a marked man. He was arrested and interned in Volgodsky, in Northern Russia, and after his release was not permitted to return to his native country, but forced to live a retired life in Turkey till 1911, where he organised the international Turkish club, " Turk Ojaghi " (" The Turkish Hearth "), and started a newspaper entitled *Turk Yurdon* (" The Turkish Family Circle ").

Strengthened by the rise of the Committee of the Union and Progress in Turkey, the Russian Moslems of Caucasia and Volga claimed consideration of their Government. Educational activities manifested themselves on strictly



Painting the Soviet Republic Flag in Turki in Central Asia. Note the sickle and hammer of the Soviet with the crescent and star of Islam at the corner of the Flag.

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national lines ; they shunned the State-controlled Universities of Imperial Russia. A large number of journals in Persian, Turkish, and Russian were published by them, and " Achigzess " of Baku became an uncompromising champion of Turanism which linked the destiny of Russian Moslems with other races professing the religion of the Prophet. In addition to Kazan College, excellent educational centres for the Moslems were created at Baku and Simfropol.

But by far the greatest momentum that this Pan-Turanian and Pan-Islamic movement of the Central Asian Moslems received dates from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The new Government proclaimed its policy of freedom for all those States that groaned under the yoke of Imperialist Russia. It sent a thrill of joy throughout Islamic East, but it was destined to be short-lived, for the Soviet Government made one great blunder from which it can never hope to recover. It retained the officials of the old regime in power and they were not favourably disposed to Islam or Turanism. They considered that " it is to Russia that God has bestowed the privilege of enlightening Asia." Withal the people were able to have the Tartar claims recognised, inasmuch as the political identity of the following was fully acknowledged :

The Independence of the Kerghiz Republic.

Membership of the Federation granted to Daghistan Republic.

Membership of the Federation granted to North Caucasian Republic.

Membership of the Federation granted to Abhkazia.

Membership of the Federation granted to Tataristan.

The Independence of Bashkird Republic.

The Independence of Turkestan Republic.

The Independence of Bokhara Republic.

The Independence of Khiva Republic.

The Independence of Crimea Republic.

The three most important republics are those of Azarbaijan, Crimea, and Bokhara. The first-named has a Parliament of 120 members and maintains an Army of no less than 100,000 Azarbaijanians. In the case of Crimea, a treaty of twenty-four articles exists between the Soviet Government and the Crimeans; chief items of interest in it are: the Turkish as the Court language, inclusion of a Tartar personnel in the Russian Fleet in the Black Sea, a constitution of a Tartar Army, and allocation of no less than one hundred seats in the Moscow University for Crimean students, whilst in Bokhara the people elect a Chamber of eighty-five members, constituting an executive committee, out of which, by a further election from this body, a Supreme Council of seven governs the country. The President of this Council is both a Prime Minister and the President of the Republic.

But the most significant and far-reaching

feature of this awakening in Moslem Russia is the part which the women have played and are playing in this movement. Women's committees were constituted in Azarbaijan, Daghistan, and in Crimea, with its headquarters at Simfropol; the " committee of self-help " controls hundreds of educational and even political institutions in Eastern and Western Russia. With it the names of Shafiqa Ghazanfrisiki Khanum, Aisha Ishkova Khanum, Dilara Bulgakova Khanum, and others are closely associated. The Kouraltai of Crimea has given franchise to women. The Baku Oriental Conference reaffirmed women's rights to participate in social and political work, and admitted fifty-five women workers to the membership in its Central Bureau. In another conference two hundred and sixty-two women representatives were present on behalf of the Soviet of All Russia. In the Women's Committee resolutions regarding the abolition of polygamy, child marriages, and payment of *kalym* were passed. How far the austere Mullas of old Asia would like this feminine revolt is not difficult to guess.

CHAPTER XV

THE KHYBER RAILWAY, AND FRONTIER DEFENCE

CLOSELY allied to the subject of the frontier between Afghanistan and India is the question of the defence of the Khyber Pass, and an account of that historical pass and the railway which has just been laid there is not without its value.

The Khyber Pass is at once the most ancient and the most difficult highway of Asia, and, as such, it has not failed to be a region of interest both to the rulers and the merchants of the East. This pass has never ceased to figure in the history of both war and peace, for, even prior to the Islamic legends of Hazrat Ali, now about thirteen hundred years old, there is proof of the fact that the army of Alexander the Great crossed this way to India. The Buddhist monks followed in the wake of those warlike Grecian legions; then Nadir Shah, the great Persian, crossed its rocky defiles and returned through it from the "Golden Hindustan" laden with all the jewels of India. Lastly, Ahmed Shah Durani returned to Afghanistan after sacking the fair fields of his neighbouring country. The Khyber was adopted by the British as the main road to Kabul, a custom which had not previously been followed

by the former rulers of India, owing to the difficulties it presented. During the first Afghan War the Khyber was the scene of many skirmishes with the Afridis and of some disasters to the British troops. In July 1839, Colonel Wade captured the fortress of Ali Musjid. In 1842, when Jelallabad was blockaded, Colonel Moseley was sent to occupy the same fort, but was compelled to evacuate it after a few days owing to the scarcity of provisions. In April of that year it was re-occupied by General Pollock in his advance to Kabul. It was at Ali Musjid that the British mission to the Ameer Shere Ali—which was of a friendly nature—was stopped in 1878. This caused the second Afghan War. On the outbreak of that campaign Ali Musjid was captured by Sir Samuel Browne. The treaty which closed the war, in May 1879, left the Khyber tribes under British control. From that time the pass was protected by *jezailchis* drawn from the Afridi tribes, who were paid a subsidy by the British Government. For eighteen years, from 1879 onwards, the Khyber Pass was controlled by Colonel R. Warburton, and for the greater part of that time its safety was secured. However, a wave of holy war swept north-west India during 1897, and the Afridis were induced by their Mullas to attack the pass which they themselves had guaranteed. The British Government were warned of the intended attack, but only withdrew the British officers belonging to the Khyber Rifles and left the pass to its fate. Eventually the pass fell into the

hands of the Afridis, but some months later, as a result of the Tirah Expedition, it again came under British control. The roads made through the Khyber Pass are a great tribute to British engineering.

The work of the Khyber Railway construction was commenced and completed under the administration of the engineer-in-chief Lieutenant-Colonel G. R. Hearn, who was deputed to visit this country some years ago, and, in conjunction with the consulting engineers to the Government of India, Messrs. Rendel, Palmer, and Tritton, arranged for the purchase and supply of considerable quantities of plant for construction purposes. This plant included light railways and steam diggers, disintegration mills and conveyors, rock drills, and also temporary workshops with suitable machines driven by oil engines.

It must, however, be appreciated that though building a railway in the Khyber Pass did not entail the great engineering difficulties experienced, for instance, in Italy or Switzerland, there are other difficulties which more or less retarded the construction.

The safety of the line, both under construction and when completed, was the most difficult matter to arrange. In this respect, therefore, much care had to be exercised. It might be remarked that, with the ample resources of the British Empire, that could be easily managed. It is, however, necessary to remember that the whole of the Khyber Pass does not belong to

the British Government—if, indeed, any of it belongs to Great Britain at all—for the western gates of the pass lie within the Afghan territory, and, this being the case, any railway scheme, to be of practical use as a path of industry and commerce, must necessarily have the goodwill of the other party concerned in the terminal point of the railway. Moreover, the entire length of the new Khyber " projection " lies in what is called the " Independent " territory of the Afridis, over whom an influence is exerted only through the British political officers at Peshawar. It will, therefore, be seen that the Khyber Railway is being built by the British Government in a region which, strictly speaking, lies outside the pale of the British Empire. It is being constructed in the country of the Afridis, who are prone to hostility on the slightest provocation, and who owe allegiance to none. Their goodwill is secured through a lavish distribution of money to the clansmen. All this is being done to bring about the development of industry and to ensure a peaceful future for the Indian Government. Yet the strategical value of the railway, despite some military opinions, is almost infinitesimal to those who are well acquainted with the Khyber conditions.

Nature of the Khyber Pass

As to the pass itself, broadly speaking it leads the caravans from Peshawar to Dakka. Travelling on level road from Peshawar, in the north-west frontier province of India, in a westerly

direction for about ten and a half miles, Jumrud is reached. This may be regarded as the eastern gate of the pass. A broad gauge line was already laid between Jumrud and Peshawar, and, beyond one or two gradients, no engineering difficulties were encountered. The ground is fairly level, and a portion of the track runs along a dry river-bed. Already a large number of the tribesmen take advantage of this railway, but the chief work of this line seems to lie in the direction of conveying goods and the transport of the relief units at the fort of Jumrud. Hills begin at Jumrud, and the line passes in a most extraordinary zigzag direction at varying heights, and, as it winds round the hillsides, many Afridi villages may be seen. These lend the only bit of colour to be had in that bleak and barren region. Here and there is a tunnel, but, if one stops too long to examine the work, one may run the risk of catching a stray bullet, for it is always possible that the Afridi clansmen may be whiling away their time by "potting" at each other from behind their watch-towers. Again, one might notice that the line has taken an awkward bend, apparently to avoid a certain patch of ground, and, on closer examination, one discovers that this area is dotted with strange-looking mounds, at the foot and the head of which curiously shaped stones are placed. These are the graves of the Afridis, and the area is a graveyard which no man dare violate. Hence the turn which the railway line has taken. Further, one notices that the hills show more

difficult curves, frequent tunnelling is found to be necessary, and the roads take zigzag turns. The effect of this is that two or three roads can be seen at one and the same time, giving the hillside a very pretty terrace effect.

Ali Musjid

Just before Ali Musjid, at a distance of a little over five miles from Jumrud, precipitous cliffs confront the engineer's skill, and this has been manipulated through a system of tunnelling, for here the elevation ranges from 700 feet to 2,000 feet, and the bends are extremely abrupt. Here one may see many an unsophisticated Afghan camel-driver halting to hear the noise of the mysterious engine in the workshop, and to wonder at the sacks and trolleys rolling down the rope-way to various points where repairs or construction are being carried on. " They move all by themselves," remarked one of them to me, " as if they had life." Great gatherings of labourers and overseers take place at prayer-time at the small mosque at Ali Musjid, and it should occasion no surprise if it is noticed that every man is armed to the teeth. A rifle is a necessary companion for them even during the day, when they exchange bullets with the snipers hiding behind the huge boulders on the opposite hill, and who regard their kinsmen working at the Khyber Railway as traitors, the work as unholy, and the wages earned on it as " infidels' unclean money." During the evening the workers, homeward bound, have to protect

themselves in the same manner. No wonder, then, that many Afridis do not care to work on the line until they are actually starving, or feel a very strong likelihood of being caught red-handed if they raid the bankers' street at Peshawar. The construction of the Khyber Railway was not merely a task of laying a railway; it was one of constant resistance to both the physical and the natural difficulties. The contract for the provision of labour had been given, wisely, to the Afridis, who, it must be added, earn a very excellent income through it. On the completion of the railway it has been promised that the greater part of the proceeds will fall to the share of the Afridi chiefs, who count themselves to be the real custodians of the Khyber Pass, and who have already bartered their right of collecting tolls from the camel caravans for a little more than thirty thousand pounds a year. This sum is given to them by the Government of India, not only for the right of the toll collection, but also in return for a guarantee that a safe and free passage shall be given to all travellers and merchants who travel through the pass on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Narrow Passages

It is beyond Ali Musjid, westwards towards Lundi Khana, that the narrowest part of the gorge is met. Here, just below the plain of Ali Musjid, the river of the same name winds between high cliffs, each about 2,000 feet in height, and the passage by the caravan route is

not much wider than 15 feet. The line ascends and descends frequently while passing this region, and a large number of tunnels are blasted. Another difficult part of the pass is the district of Lundi Kotal, where the whole scene is one of defiles and high cliffs. The work of blasting presented difficulties, because the mountains do not permit any passage secure enough for workers, unless the hillside be cut. For a few miles high cliffs and deep gorges continue, until, gradually, the region opens just before Lundi Khana is reached. This point is the terminus of the railway, as beyond this area are the low hills of Dakka, in the Afghan territory. About six miles of the pass is to be crossed from Lundi Khana to Dakka before the Khyber Railway could be termed to have gone right through the entire pass, which is about thirty-three miles long.

Shortening the Route to India

Practically all the rails of the Khyber Railway are either supplied by the Indian foundries or are brought from England, while, as already mentioned above, British engineers are in charge of the constructional work. And when the Afghans think fit to lay a railway in their own country, and when Russia is settled, it would be possible to eliminate much of the sea route to India. It would merely be necessary to go by sea to Leningrad, and, crossing Central Russia to Orenburg, travel by the Orenburg-Tashkend line to Bokhara, in Turkestan, thence to Merve, in Turkomania, and then to Herat, in the west

of Afghanistan. Crossing that country, one may reach Lundi Khana, Peshawar, and Delhi, the capital of India.

Value of the Khyber Railway

The real value of the Khyber Railway with regard to commerce and politics should be clearly understood from a British point of view. A railway like the one under review has to perform duties, not only in the interests of commerce and industry, but also as a means of communication with the more remote outposts of the British Empire. This it does. On the south the North-Western Railway, of which this is but an extension, follows the Indus Valley in its progress to Karachi, and in this manner serves Thal, Bannu, and Tank, in Waziristan. Near Sukhar the line branches off to Quetta, and thence to the Afghan border at Chaman. Another branch serves the north of Baluchistan, terminating at Mirjawan, on the Persian borderland. In the east and north this extension has important connections, for, from Peshawar, lines run up to the Malakund Valley, while in the east it joins the trunk line of the North-Western Railway. It is a fitting tribute to British enterprise in engineering to see this line in existence, for since its early days in 1871 it has progressed until its mileage is about 5,321.07. Only the Indus Valley line, owing to strategical position, retains the gauge undisturbed, although on other Indian railways the metre gauge has been adopted. When one

thinks of the tunnelling of the Khyber hills one cannot help recalling the difficulties which confronted the engineers in making the tunnel in the Bolan region, under Khojak Pass; the cost alone would, in ordinary times, appal most company promoters. The tunnelling of the Khyber Pass hills, especially beyond Ali Musjid, had been a great task, both for the engineer and the financier. The opening up of trade, in the strict sense of the word, would only be possible when the Trans-Caspian and the Turkestan railways are connected with the Quetta line or with the Khyber. In the former case, about 250 miles would be affected if a line was laid in Afghanistan. But that time has not yet come, and one cannot but admire the Afghans in keeping to the saying of the great Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan: "There will be a railway in Afghanistan when the Afghans are able to make it themselves." Seeing the present progress of that country, one can safely say that the time is not far distant when the Afghans will be able to lay the line themselves.

CHAPTER XVI

PROGRESS AND POLICY IN AFGHANISTAN

SINCE the accession of H.M. King Amanullah Khan in 1919, a very considerable change has come over the spirit of the country. The policy of isolation which formerly obtained has been entirely abandoned, and both Ameer and people are anxious for speedy development and enlightenment. But the evolution of Afghanistan, it has been decreed, and wisely, must take place strictly on native lines. The lessons of Western civilisation will be carefully acquired and absorbed, still they will be turned into the channels of Afghan thought and necessity. The present tendencies at Kabul are that no Western power, however friendly disposed, be permitted to direct the course of Afghan development entirely, or in any way displace native control.

After the assassination of Ameer Habibullah Khan, when the nation elected King Amanullah Khan, the third son of the late Ameer, my countrymen found assuredly the most modern-minded ruler who has ever sat on the throne of Afghanistan. He is about thirty-six years of age, and, besides Persian, speaks English and French. His principal reason for desiring that

his country should be modernised is associated with its independence, of which he is peculiarly jealous, for he is well aware that Afghanistan would certainly be unable to retain her autonomy unless equipped with that apparatus of civilisation which could alone render her independent of Western control. He is also conscious that the undeveloped wealth of his country may attract foreign exploitation of an undesirable nature, and with this he is determined to be able to cope should the necessity arise. At the same time he is anxious and willing to entertain properly accredited offers for the working of the large deposits of mineral treasures known to exist in the country, as I shall show later.

The steps recently taken by the King to introduce a spirit of advancement into Afghanistan are numerous, but none are so indicative of the general tendency he has introduced as those connected with popular education. Realising the paramount importance of a sound and embracive system of public instruction, he has issued public notices which are posted in prominent positions, advising the people to send their children to school. This may appear, at first sight, a step peculiarly futile, when other and more drastic courses were open to him. But the intention is to encourage rather than to drive, to arouse a spirit of healthy emulation rather than to compel. All Government servants, however, are obliged to send their children to school on pain of fine or dismissal, and thus an example is set. Kabul has already several

well-equipped colleges, that of Habibiah, founded by the Ameer of that name, Amani Harbiah, and Amaniyeh, instituted by the present ruler. There are also colleges for the special instruction of civil servants, and at one of these the Governor of Kabul himself delivers a course of lectures on Administration. Many Afghan students are also sent to France or Germany to receive their higher education. Nor is female instruction neglected, and in this branch the Ameer takes a special personal interest. The girls' school, founded by his mother, and controlled by the Queen, now contains over 2,000 pupils, where a sound course of instruction in the ordinary curriculum is followed by suitable tuition in the accomplishments of social life. In all the principal towns art schools have been established, an intelligent interest is being shown in local archæology, and a museum has been built in the capital.

Administrational experiment is proceeding on sound and liberal lines. Small-holdings and model farms are being tested by the Department of Agriculture, with special reference to the agricultural and economic needs of the country. A telephone system has been installed in the principal centre of population, and many of the houses of the nobility at Kabul are now lighted by electricity, as is the palace of the Ameer, the electrical works at Jebel-us-Serij supplying the necessary power. At least one cinema—an open-air exhibition—has been introduced at Kabul, but the Press is strictly under censorship. The

official organ of the Government is *Aman-i-Afghan*, a well-organised and -conducted journal of dignified character, whilst private endeavour in Afghan journalism is represented by the *Ittihad-i-Mashraqui*, or "Unity of the East," which has achieved much for the foundation of a healthy public opinion throughout the country.

Kabul is, indeed, on the verge of a complete and thorough-going reconstruction. A French architect of distinction has been retained to plan and design Dar-ul-Aman, the new city, which is to be laid out on Western lines, with spacious boulevards, parks and lofty buildings, the change of site being in a measure necessitated by the frequent flooding of Kabul, which is almost annually visited by inundations of the most distressing kind, causing great loss and materially impeding business.

Until Amanullah's accession to the throne, Western influence in Afghanistan was somewhat restricted in its operations. But with his renunciation of autocracy and his assumption of constitutional power in 1922 European settlements began to be formed, and a policy of toleration towards the non-Moslems in the country was instituted. The Cabinet is presided over by the Ameer himself, and includes Ministers for Education, Commerce, War, Justice, Finance, and Public Security. The annual revenue is increasing and fully meets the requirements of administration, yet a little more money might be very useful. The Ameer, however, is indisposed to borrowing from Western nations,

as he dreads the demand for concessions which would inevitably follow, and which, he fears, would have dire results to the independence of his country. At present Afghanistan has no National Debt.

The Army has been reconstructed on German and Turkish models, and military colleges have been established in the larger centres. An air force is also in course of development and can already boast of twelve aeroplanes made in Russia by the Junker Company. The pilots who man them are Afghan, German, and Russian, and the Germans have organised a school of aviation at Kabul. During the last seven years there has been not a single air crash in Afghanistan. A number of Afghans have also been despatched to Moscow for a course of training in aviation.

Afghanistan's commercial relations are almost entirely confined to India and Russia. From India, cotton, coffee, leather, silk, tea, paper, iron and some machinery are imported. Her exports are carpets, wool, hides, furs, horses, and dried fruit. From Russia she imports sugar, skins, and samovars; from Germany, big guns and agricultural implements, and some pottery from Japan. But the Ameer is especially desirous to encourage home industries, although as yet manufactures are not carried on on any great scale. He refuses to wear clothing not made in Afghanistan, and compels his officials to wear clothes of native manufacture. Heavy duties are exacted on all imports save war

Gathering at Kabul in commemoration of the Afghan Day of Independence.

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material. On the other hand, he is zealously active in expanding Afghan commerce abroad. Afghan trade agencies have been established at Peshawar, Quetta, and Parachinar, and similar agencies are attached to the Afghan Legations in Europe and Asia. But banks are not to be found in Afghanistan because of religious scruples regarding the lending of money.

It will readily be understood that in his policy of reorganisation King Amanullah Khan has encountered strong opposition from the more conservative elements in Afghanistan. The Islamic priesthood were naturally the head and fount of the opposition against his enlightened regime, and they even adopted active as well as propagandist measures against his proposed innovations. Indeed on two occasions they succeeded in fomenting a state of open rebellion, which, however, was speedily quelled. But there are indications that the forces of retrogression are not yet finally disbanded, and in many quarters dissatisfaction still smoulders at the revolutionary changes which the Ameer in his wisdom has introduced.

It is probably out of the heart of this opposition that the charge has been levelled against the Ameer of coveting the hegemony of the Islamic world, the Khalifat. Amanullah can scarcely be reproached with such an ambition, however, for he is well aware that his acceptance of this lofty position might readily bring about a recrudescence of the feuds between his Shiah and Sunni subjects. This he very naturally does

not desire to see, and it is rumoured that he has practically never given a serious thought to his claiming of the Khalifat. At the same time he is a strong Pan-Islamist, and would certainly not stand by and see the religious unity of Islam threatened without making every effort to save it. If Islam in general forces the Khalifat upon him as its most outstanding champion, he will, of course, be unable to refuse the honour. Up to the present time he has shown nothing but friendliness to Turkey, with which he cemented an alliance in 1921, and he sent a delegation to the World Moslem Congress held at Mecca in June 1926. By the terms of his pact with Turkey, too, it is clear that he is agreeable to aid her in her desire to free Asiatic nations from foreign rule.

This brings me to the subject of foreign relations. These are to a large extent determined by the attitude adopted by the several European powers as regards the mineral resources of Afghanistan. As is well known, the country is extremely rich in ore deposits, but the manner in which they are to be exploited is not so clear. Repeatedly has the Afghan Government tried to attract the necessary capital to work them satisfactorily, and geologists from most European countries have prospected in the realms of the Ameer and have even commenced mining operations of a sort. For example, a gold mine has been opened north of Kandahar, and a ruby mine near Jagdalak, on the road from Kabul to Peshawar. The magnetic ore deposited in the

Paghman mountains has been tapped, and the silver of the Gharbend valley has been worked for a season. But all of these ventures were abandoned for the lack of communications.

The absence of good roads is at the present time the great obstacle both to financial success and modern administration in Afghanistan. Caravan conveyance, owing to the wretched nature of the communications, devours practically all the profit acquired through enterprise in mineral working. Again, the ore of the country is separated from its coal fuel by hundreds of miles. There are plentiful coal deposits in Hindu Kush ; north of Bamian there are seams of coal eight feet thick, estimated to contain 500 million tons, and in the province of Khost there are also deposits which, under better conditions, might be worked successfully. But both ore and coal might as well not exist so long as they are separated by hundreds of leagues of country where transport is impossible through the difficulty of transport.

Again, there can be little doubt that petroleum does exist in Afghanistan, as the petroleum belt passes through Persia, Baluchistan, and Mesopotamia ; but so far it has not been located, save at Tirpul, west of Herat, not far from the Persian frontier. Boring has not, however, been carried out on systematic lines, and as the expense of such operations is heavy, and the Government is unable to afford it, it seems as if the oil deposits of the country would remain underground for some considerable time to come.

For the Ameer has an apprehension that by granting concessions to foreign agents he will sacrifice the sovereign rights of his country and that European rivalry for Afghan mineral wealth might eventuate in a joint protectorate being declared over Afghanistan. Therefore, whenever he is approached by the agents of foreign capitalists on the subject of concessions, he makes demands so onerous and so difficult of acceptance that refusal invariably follows. It is useless to speak, as some European journals do, of the " quite unjustified fear " of the King that Europeans will deal unfairly with him. He has the example of Chinese and other Asiatic concessions before him, and the history of these is surely sufficient to make the ruler of a much more powerful realm than Afghanistan diffident of European entanglements.

But, were the difficulties of transport overcome, there can be little question that Afghanistan would quickly step into the front rank as a mining community. That, perhaps, does not seem a very exalted ambition. To persons of romantic disposition it might seem better that this mysterious country, lying on the confines of East and West, should retain its pastoral simplicity and almost legendary atmosphere. Others, recalling recent events connected with mining in this country, may not be able to envisage the Afghan warrior transformed into a miner without a certain feeling of alarm. But whether we like it or not, the world will progress, and even its most remote corners nowadays

appear to react most astonishingly to impulses from its commercial and social nuclei. There seems no doubt that the Afghan Government must in time, and in consonance with the modern spirit which presently inspires it, seriously occupy itself with the problem of its interior communications. That is undoubtedly the first essential step to progress in any land, and Afghanistan cannot escape it. Given good internal communications, the opening up of the mineral fields and the application of native fuel to their deposits will naturally follow. In a certain measure it is already apace.

Of course, certain foreign powers are making extraordinary attempts to establish confidence with the Afghan Government. At Kabul there is at present a German company which issues flamboyant pamphlets in which it declares that Germany is the best friend of Islam, that she stood by Turkey in the war, that she has no Mahomedan colonies, and incidentally, of course, that her machinery is the best in the world! These publications are printed in Persian, and are distributed among the Afghans. German engineers, doctors, and architects abound in Afghanistan. Indeed, the Teutonic influx dates from the Treaty of Friendship, as it is called, between Germany and Afghanistan which was signed at Berlin in 1926.

So far as Russia is concerned, it is even more numerously represented in Afghanistan. Russian electricians and road-surveyors have entered the country in considerable numbers. Russia

has extended her railway in Russian Turkestan as far as Termez on the Afghan border, so that the Uzbeks from Russian soil are now able to meet their blood-brothers of Afghanistan and preach the doctrines of Bolshevism to them, and there is no doubt whatsoever that the Russians in the country are responsible for a strong anti-British propaganda among the people. But it is important to indicate that the Government and the better-informed Afghan people stand wholly aloof from the Communist effort or contamination. No possible blandishments, political or financial, would prevail with the Ameer to hypothecate his national and sovereign interests to Moscow, and while desirous for the maintenance of the best possible relations with Russia, His Majesty will steadily rebut all approaches which appear insidious or subversive of Afghan independence. Indeed, the Afghans even now display a well-known nervousness of both the Russians and the British, a sentiment which is referable to the period when the mountain kingdom over which King Amanullah Khan rules was little more than a buffer state between the territories of the Anglo-Saxon and the Muscovite, and it is notorious that his Government prefers to employ nationals of neither country for that very reason. Great Britain has, therefore, no reason to fear undue Russian influence in Afghanistan.

Nor is there the slightest justification for anxiety that a strong and modernised Afghanistan might have designs upon India. Such a notion

is absolutely alien to the policy and tendencies of the Ameer, whose sole desire is to live in peace and amity with the British Raj as a good neighbour. He fully recognises that hostility to British rule in India, whether covert or open, could result only in menace most serious to the country over which he rules, and constitutionally he is opposed to anything in the nature of interference with foreign powers, just as much as he resents their intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan.

In its adoption of the more novel apparatus of Western social life, Afghanistan is undoubtedly coming into line with Europe. Radio is in great demand throughout the country, and listeners-in at Kabul and elsewhere are quite able to tune up so as to hear Moscow. To pick up London or Paris is naturally much more difficult. It is proposed, however, to erect a great aerial on the mountainous outskirts of the capital, and the early inauguration of a powerful wireless station will assuredly bring Afghanistan into closer touch with the other centres of the civilised world.

But perhaps the surest sanction that Afghanistan is really inspired by the spirit of national progress is the institution of a new and well-designed system of government and justice. The country is divided into five provinces, Kabul, Kandahar, Afghan Turkestan, Herat, and Badakhshan, each of which is ruled by a responsible Governor. As a constitutional monarch, the Ameer has created two assemblies,

the *Durbar Shahi*, or Senate, and the *Kha-wanin Mulkhi*, or Congress, while the Cabinet is composed, besides the ministers already alluded to, of Sirdars, or hereditary nobles and Khans, or popular representatives.

Justice is administered by the *kazi* or district judge, subordinate to whom is the *kotwal* or magistrate. The Ameer himself is the supreme court of appeal, and after the manner of Oriental monarchs, H.M. Amanullah Khan has set apart a day in the week on which the humblest of his subjects can approach him with reference to legal and administrative difficulties.

The young King might indeed be called " the Henry the Second of Afghanistan." Active, intelligent, and zealous, he is ever traversing his kingdom, tightening up a screw here, fixing a bolt there. One moment it may be the agricultural well-being of his country which occupies his consideration, at another its commercial expansion, or the question of education may obtrude itself. But from morning to night he is never idle. In short, he is a constitutional monarch with a tendency to enact that part so much esteemed by all political dreamers—the rôle of " beneficent autocrat." Under his masculine regime, Afghanistan cannot but go forward from strength to strength, until at last she stands shoulder to shoulder with the nations of the West in " the foremost files of time."

CHAPTER XVII

AFGHAN TREATY WITH BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA

A TREATY was signed at Paghman on August 31st, 1926, by Aqai Mahmud Khan Tarzi, the Afghan Foreign Minister, and M. Stark, the Soviet Diplomatic Minister in Afghanistan. The coming into existence of this treaty or the cancellation thereof will not interfere in any way with the Russo-Afghan Treaty concluded in Moscow on February 28th, 1921. The text of the new treaty is as follows :

Text of the Treaty

Clause 1.—In the event of war or hostile action between one of the contracting parties and a third power or powers, the other contracting party will observe neutrality in respect of the first contracting party.

Clause 2.—Both the contracting parties agree to abstain from mutual aggression, the one against the other. Within their own dominions also they will do nothing which may cause political or military harm to the other party. The contracting parties particularly agree not to make alliances or political and military agreements with any one or more other powers against each other. Each will also abstain from joining

any boycott or financial or economic blockade organised against the other party. Besides this, in case the attitude of a third power or powers is hostile towards one of the contracting parties, the other contracting party will not help such hostile policy, and, further, will prohibit the execution of such policy and hostile actions and measures within its dominions.

Mutual Non-Aggression

Clause 3.—The high contracting parties acknowledge one another's Government as rightful and independent. They agree to abstain from all sorts of armed or unarmed interference in one another's internal affairs. They will decidedly neither join nor help any one or more other powers which interfere in or against one of the contracting Governments. None of the contracting parties will permit in its dominions the formation or existence of societies and the activities of individuals whose object is to gather armed force with a view to injuring the other's independence, or otherwise such activities will be checked. Similarly, neither of the contracting parties will allow armed forces, arms, ammunition, or other war material, meant to be used against the other contracting party, to pass through its dominions.

Clause 4.—The contracting parties agree to enter into negotiations within a period of four months for the compilation of the rules for the reconciliation of the differences which arise

between them, and which cannot be solved in the usual diplomatic way.

Clause 5.—Each of the contracting parties is at liberty to enter into any sort of relationship or agreement with other Governments, where such action does not interfere with the provisions of this treaty.

Valid for Three Years

Clause 6.—This treaty will take effect from the date of its ratification, which should take place within three months of its signature. It will be valid for three years. After this period it will remain in force for another year, provided neither of the parties has given notice six months before the date of its expiry that it should cease after that time.

Clause 7.—This treaty has been drawn up in two languages, Persian and Russian. Both the versions are equally reliable.

The Protocol.—The following signatories—M. Stark, the Soviet Minister Plenipotentiary in Afghanistan, and Aqai Mahmud Baig Khan Tarzi, the Afghan Foreign Minister—certified that their Governments, which had been loyal to the Russo-Afghan Treaty of 1921, had not made any agreement with any Government in the past which is opposed to the present treaty of neutrality and non-aggression, and that they would not do so in the future for the period of this treaty. This protocol was signed at Paghman on August 31st, 1926.

The above treaty proves that Afghanistan is desirous of having co-operation with all the nations and powers, both far and near. She desires general peace and welfare, and wishes to abstain from all sorts of aggression, except in defence of her rights. Afghanistan is prepared to meet everyone who wishes to make a treaty of honour or neutrality or a treaty which might be conducive to general peace and social welfare. The advantages of the above treaty are equally shared by the contracting parties, and facilities are provided for social co-operation.

AFGHAN-GERMAN TREATY

A treaty of friendship between the Afghan and the German Governments was negotiated and signed at Berlin on March 23rd by Aqai Ghulam Siddiq Khan, the Afghan Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, and Dr. G. Stressemann, the German Foreign Minister, as the delegates of the powers. The text of the treaty is as follows :

Clause 1.—From this day onwards unopposed peace and everlasting sincere friendship has been established between the High Governments of Afghanistan and Germany.

Clause 2.—The High Contracting Governments will maintain legations at each other's Courts, the Ministers and all the recognised members of these legations will enjoy the

political privileges allowed by the general international rules, which are explained below :

Political Privileges

Each legation will possess the privilege of hoisting its Government's flag on its building, on the residence of its Minister and on his carriage when he is travelling officially. It can also place a signboard bearing its Government's arms on the building of the legation. Each legation will possess the privilege of the safety of its registered staff and their families. The buildings of the legations of the contracting parties will possess the privilege of being considered as situated outside the jurisdictions of the Governments, but they will under no circumstances afford asylum to the transgressors of local laws. Each legation will possess the privilege of the security of its political despatches and official articles and the safety of its political couriers during the discharge of their political duties. Each legation will possess the privilege of communication with its Government or her agents in other countries by means of the telegraph, the telephone, and the wireless in open language or in cipher.

The following are recognised as the official members of each legation :

The Minister Plenipotentiary, the Counsellor, the Military Attaché, the Head Clerk, the Economic Attaché, the Second Clerk, the Third Clerk, the Record Keeper, the Translator, and the Doctor.

Clause 3.—The contracting parties entirely agree that when the time comes they will make special treaties, especially an economic treaty.

Clause 4.—This treaty has been written in two languages, viz. Persian and German. Both versions are equally reliable. This treaty should be ratified and a ratified copy should be presented at Kabul as soon as possible. This treaty was presented at Paghman (Kabul) on 14th September, 1926, by Aqai Mirza Mohammad Khan, Secretary of the Afghan Foreign Ministry and Dr. Feigal, the German Minister Plenipotentiary in Afghanistan, and was ratified by the King of Afghanistan.

ANGLO-AFGHAN TREATY

Signed at Kabul, November 22nd, 1921

(Ratifications exchanged at Kabul, February 6th, 1922)

Preamble.—The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan, with a view to the establishment of neighbourly relations between them, have agreed to the Articles written hereunder whereto the undersigned duly authorised to that effect have set their seals :

Article 1.—The British Government and the Government of Afghanistan mutually certify and respect each with regard to the other all rights of internal and external independence.

Article 2.—The two High Contracting Parties mutually accept the Indo-Afghan Frontier as

King Amanullah of Afghanistan addressing his nobles and subjects from a mosque pulpit at Kabul.

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accepted by the Afghan Government under Article 5 of the treaty concluded at Rawalpindi on the 8th August, 1919, corresponding to the 11th Ziqada, 1337 Hijra, and also the boundary west of the Khyber laid down by the British Commission in the months of August and September, 1919, pursuant to the said Article, and shown on the map[1] attached to this treaty by a black chain line; subject only to the realignment set forth in Schedule I annexed, which has been agreed upon in order to include within the boundaries of Afghanistan the place known as Tor Kham, and the whole bed of the Kabul river between Shilman Khwala Banda and Palosai and which is shown on the said map by a red chain line. The British Government agrees that the Afghan authorities shall be permitted to draw water in reasonable quantities through a pipe which shall be provided by the British Government from Landi Khana for the use of Afghan subjects at Tor Kham, and the Government of Afghanistan agrees that British officers and tribesmen living on the British side of the boundary shall be permitted without let or hindrance to use the aforesaid portion of the Kabul river for purposes of navigation and that all existing rights of irrigation from the aforesaid portion of the river shall be continued to British subjects.

Article 3.—The British Government agrees that a Minister from His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan shall be received at the Royal Court

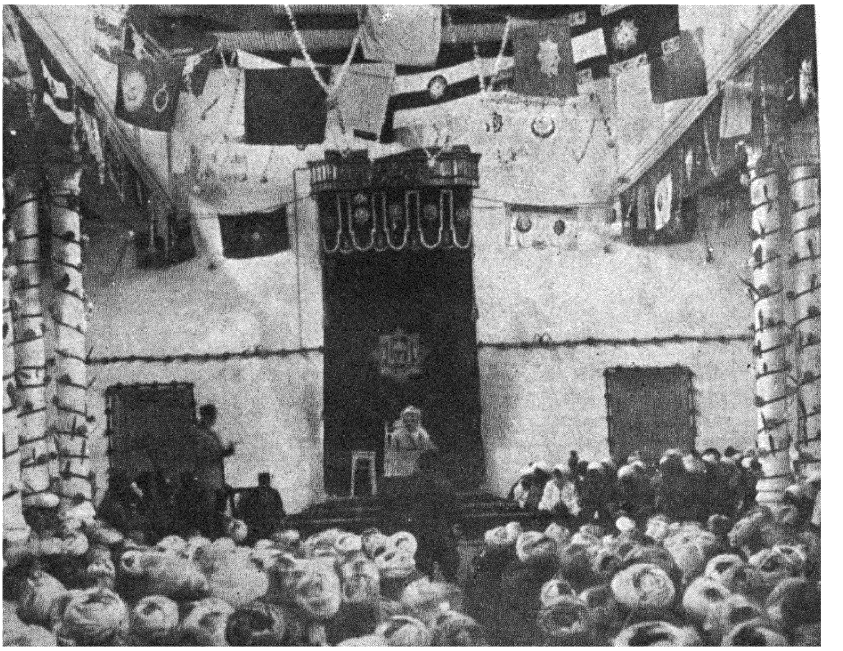
[1] Not reproduced.

of London like the Envoys of all other Powers, and to permit the establishment of an Afghan Legation in London, and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees to receive in Kabul a Minister from His Britannic Majesty the Emperor of India and to permit the establishment of a British Legation at Kabul.

Each party shall have the right of appointing a Military Attaché to its Legation.

Article 4.—The Government of Afghanistan agrees to the establishment of British Consulates at Kandahar and Jelallabad, and the British Government agrees to the establishment of an Afghan Consul-General at the headquarters of the Government of India and three Afghan Consulates at Calcutta, Karachi, and Bombay. In the event of the Afghan Government desiring at any time to appoint Consular officers in any British territories other than India a separate agreement shall be drawn up to provide for such appointments if they are approved by the British Government.

Article 5.—The two High Contracting Parties mutually guarantee the personal safety and honourable treatment each of the representatives of the other, whether Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls within their own boundaries, and they agree that the said representatives shall be subject in the discharge of their duties to the provisions set forth in the second schedule annexed to this treaty. The British Government further agrees that the Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan shall,



An official Durbar at Jelallabad, Afghanistan, where a loyal address is being read to the King, Amanullah Khan, in the audience hall. The King is seated on the dais.

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within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister, Consul-General, or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister, Consul-General, and Consuls of Afghanistan are fixed; and the Government of Afghanistan likewise agrees that the Minister and Consuls of Great Britain shall within the territorial limits within which they are permitted to reside or to exercise their functions, notwithstanding the provisions of the said schedule, receive and enjoy any rights or privileges which are or may hereafter be granted to or enjoyed by the Minister or Consuls of any other Government in the countries in which the places of residence of the said Minister and Consuls of Great Britain are fixed.

Article 6.—As it is for the benefit of the British Government and the Government of Afghanistan that the Government of Afghanistan shall be strong and prosperous, the British Government agrees that whatever quantity of material is required for the strength and welfare of Afghanistan, such as all kinds of factory machinery, engines and materials and instruments for telegraph, telephones, etc., which Afghanistan may be able to buy from Britain or the British dominions or from other countries of the world, shall ordinarily

be imported without let or hindrance by Afghanistan into its own territories from the ports of the British Isles and British India. Similarly the Government of Afghanistan agrees that every kind of goods, the export of which is not against the internal law of the Government of Afghanistan and which may in the judgment of the Government of Afghanistan be in excess of the internal needs and requirements of Afghanistan and is required by the British Government, can be purchased and exported to India with the permission of the Government of Afghanistan. With regard to arms and munitions, the British Government agrees that as long as it is assured that the intentions of the Government of Afghanistan are friendly and that there is no immediate danger to India from such importation in Afghanistan, permission shall be given without let or hindrance for such importation. If, however, the Arms Traffic Convention is hereafter ratified by the Great Powers of the world and comes into force, the right of importation of arms and munitions by the Afghan Government shall be subject to the proviso that the Afghan Government shall first have signed the Arms Traffic Convention, and that such importation shall only be made in accordance with the provisions of that Convention. Should the Arms Traffic Convention not be ratified or lapse, the Government of Afghanistan, subject to the foregoing assurance, can from time to time import into its own territory the arms and munitions mentioned above

through the ports of the British Isles and British India.

Article 7.—No Customs duties shall be levied at British Indian ports on goods imported under the provisions of Article 6 on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan, for immediate transport to Afghanistan, provided that a certificate signed by such Afghan authority or representative as may from time to time be determined by the two Governments shall be presented at the time of importation to the Chief Customs Officer at the port of import setting forth that the goods in question are the property of the Government of Afghanistan and are being sent under its orders to Afghanistan, and showing the description, number and value of the goods in respect of which exemption is claimed; provided, secondly, that the goods are required for the public services of Afghanistan and not for the purposes of any State monopoly or State trade; and provided, thirdly, that the goods are, unless of a clearly distinguishable nature, transported through India in sealed packages, which shall not be opened or subdivided before their export from India.

And also the British Government agrees to the grant in respect of all trade goods imported into India at British ports for re-export to Afghanistan and exported to Afghanistan by routes to be agreed upon between the two Governments of a rebate at the time and place of export of the full amount of Customs duty levied upon such goods, provided that such

goods shall be transported through India in sealed packages which shall not be opened or subdivided before their export from India.

And also the British Government declares that it has no present intention of levying Customs duty on goods or livestock of Afghan origin or manufacture, imported by land or by river into India or exported from Afghanistan to other countries of the world through India and the import of which into India is not prohibited by law. In the event, however, of the British Government deciding in the future to levy Customs duties on goods and livestock imported into India by land or by river from neighbouring States, it will, if necessary, levy such duties on imports from Afghanistan; but in that event it agrees that it will not levy higher duties on imports from Afghanistan than those levied on imports from such neighbouring States. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the levy on imports from Afghanistan of the present Khyber tolls and of octroi in any town of India in which octroi is or may be hereafter levied, provided that there shall be no enhancement over the present rate of the Khyber tolls.

Article 8.—The British Government agrees to the establishment of trade agents by the Afghan Government at Peshawar, Quetta, and Parachinar, provided that the personnel and the property of the said agencies shall be subject to the operations of all British laws and orders and to the jurisdiction of British Courts; and that they shall not be recognised by the British

authorities as having any official or special privileged position.

Article 9.—The trade goods coming to (imported to) Afghanistan under the provisions of Article 7 from Europe, etc., can be opened at the railway termini at Jumrud, in the Kurram and at Chaman for packing and arranging to suit the capacity of baggage animals without this being the cause of reimposition of Customs duties; and the carrying out of this will be arranged by the trade representatives mentioned in Article 12.

Article 10.—The two High Contracting Parties agree to afford facilities of every description for the exchange of postal matter between their two countries, provided that neither shall be authorised to establish Post Offices within the territory of the other. In order to give effect to this Article, a separate Postal Convention shall be concluded, for the preparation of which such number of special officers as the Afghan Government may appoint shall meet the officers of the British Government and consult with them.

Article 11.—The two High Contracting Parties having mutually satisfied themselves each regarding the goodwill of the other, and especially regarding their benevolent intentions towards the tribes residing close to their respective boundaries, hereby undertake each to inform the other in future of any military operations of major importance which may appear necessary for the maintenance of order among the frontier

tribes residing within their respective spheres, before the commencement of such operations.

Article 12.—The two High Contracting Parties agree that representatives of the Government of Afghanistan and of the British Government shall be appointed to discuss the conclusion of a Trade Convention, and the convention shall in the first place be regarding the measures (necessary) for carrying out the purposes mentioned in Article 9 of this treaty. Secondly. (They) shall arrange regarding commercial matters not now mentioned in this treaty which may appear desirable for the benefit of the two Governments. The trade relations between the two Governments shall continue until the Trade Convention mentioned above comes into force.

Article 13.—The two High Contracting Parties agree that the first and second schedules attached to this treaty shall have the same binding force as the Articles contained in this treaty.

Article 14.—The provisions of this treaty shall come into force from the date of its signature, and shall remain in force for three years from that date. In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said three years the intention to terminate it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. This treaty shall come into force after the signatures of the Missions of the two Parties and the two ratified

copies of this shall be exchanged in Kabul within 2½ months after the signatures.

(Sd.) MAHMUD TARZI, Chief of the Delegation of the Afghan Government for the conclusion of the Treaty.

(Sd.) HENRY R. C. DOBBS, Envoy Extraordinary and Chief of the British Mission to Kabul.

Tuesday, 30th Aqrab 1300 Kijra Shamsi (corresponding to 22nd November, 1921).

This twenty-second day of November one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

SCHEDULE I

(Referred to in Article 2)

In the nulla bed running from Landi Khana to Painda Khak Post, the Afghan frontier has been advanced approximately 700 yards, and the Tor Kham Ridge, including Shamsa Kandao and Shamsa Kandao Sar, is comprised in Afghan territory. Further, the Afghan frontier has been advanced between the point where the present boundary joins the Kabul river and Palosai from the centre of the river to the right bank.

SCHEDULE II

Legations and Consulates

(*a*) The Legations, Consulate-General, and Consulates of the two High Contracting Parties

shall at no time be used as places of refuge for political or ordinary offenders or as places of assembly for the furtherance of seditious or criminal movements or as magazines of arms.

(*b*) The Minister of His Britannic Majesty at the Court of Kabul shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés, and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are British subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the Afghan Government, provided that he shall furnish from time to time to the Afghan Government a list of persons in respect of whom such exemption is claimed, and, under a like proviso, the Minister of the Ameer to the Royal Court of London to which all the Ambassadors of States are accredited shall, together with his family, Secretaries, Assistants, Attachés, and any of his menial or domestic servants or his couriers who are Afghan subjects, be exempt from the civil jurisdiction of Great Britain. If an offence or crime is committed by an Afghan subject against the British Minister or the persons above mentioned who are attached to the British Legation, the case shall be tried according to the local law by the Courts of Afghanistan within whose jurisdiction the offence is committed, and the same procedure shall be observed *vice versa* with regard to offences committed in England by British subjects against the Afghan Minister or other persons above mentioned attached to the Afghan Legation.

(*c*) (i.) A Consul-General, Consuls, and

members of their staffs and households, who are subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall remain subject in all respects to the jurisdiction, laws, and regulations of such State.

(ii.) A Consul-General, Consuls, and members of their staffs and households, other than subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of such State, in respect of any criminal offence committed against the Government or subjects of such State, provided that no Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household shall suffer any punishment other than fine; provided also that both Governments retain always the right to demand recall from their dominions of any Consul-General, Consul, or member of their staff or household.

(iii.) A Consul-General, Consuls, and members of their staffs and households, other than subjects of the State in which they are employed, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts of the said State in respect of any civil cause of action arising in the territory of the said State, provided that they shall enjoy the customary facilities for the performance of their duties.

(iv.) The Consul-General of Afghanistan and Consuls shall have a right to defend the interests of themselves or any members of their staffs and households who are subjects of their own Governments in any Court through pleaders or by the presence of one of the consulate officials, with due regard to local procedure and laws.

(*d*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and

Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties and the members of their staffs and households shall not take any steps or commit any acts injurious to the interests of the Government of the country to which they are accredited.

(*e*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two Governments in either country shall be permitted to purchase or hire on behalf of their Governments residences for themselves and their staff and servants, or sites sufficient and suitable for the erection of such residence and grounds of a convenient size attached, and the respective Governments shall give all possible assistance towards such purchase or hire; provided that the Government of the country to which the Ministers or Consuls are accredited shall, in the event of an Embassy or Consulate being permanently withdrawn, have the right to acquire such residence or lands at a price to be mutually agreed on; and provided that the site purchased or hired shall not exceed 20 jaribs in area.

Note: Each jarib = 60 x 60 yards, English = 3,600 sq. yards.

(*f*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two Governments shall not acquire any immovable property in the country to which they are accredited without the permission of the Government of the said country.

(*g*) Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall found a mosque, church, or temple for the use of the public inside any of its Legations or Consulates, nor shall the Ministers,

Consul-General, or Consuls of either Government or their Secretaries or members of their staffs and households engage in any political agitation or movement within the country to which they are accredited or in which they are residing.

(*h*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall not grant naturalisation or passports or certificates of nationality or other documents of identity to the subjects of the country in which they are employed in such capacity.

(*i*) The Ministers of the two High Contracting Parties, besides their own wives and children, may have with them not more than thirty-five persons, and a Consul-General and Consuls, besides their own wives and children, not more than twenty persons. If it becomes necessary to employ in addition subjects of the Government of the country to which they are accredited, Ministers can employ not more than ten persons and Consul-General and Consuls not more than five persons.

(*j*) The Ministers, Consul-General, and Consuls of the two High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph, and by wireless telegraphy in cypher or *en clair*, and to receive and despatch sealed bags by courier or post, subject to a limitation in the case of Ministers of 6 lb. per week, and in the case of a

Consul-General and Consuls of 4 lb. per week, which shall be exempt from postal charges and examination, and the safe transmission of which shall, in the case of bags sent by post, be guaranteed by the Postal Departments of the two Governments.

(*k*) Each of the two Governments shall exempt from the payment of Customs or other duties all articles imported within its boundaries in reasonable quantities for the personal use of the Minister of the other Government or of his family, provided that a certificate is furnished by the Minister at the time of importation that the articles are intended for such personal use.

APPENDIX

I. *Letter from British Representative to Sardar-i-Ala, the Afghan Foreign Minister.*

(After compliments.)

With reference to the provisions contained in Article 6 of the treaty concluded between the Government of Afghanistan and the British Government regarding the importation of arms and munitions into Afghanistan through India, I have the honour to inform and assure you that, although the British Government has in that article reserved to itself the right exercised by every nation to stop the transportation to a neighbouring country of arms and munitions, in the event of its not being assured of the friendly intentions of that country, the British Government has no desire to make trifling incidents an excuse for the stoppage of such arms

and munitions. It would only be in the event of the Government of Afghanistan showing plainly by its attitude that it had determined on an unfriendly and provocative course of policy towards Great Britain contrary to the neighbourly treaty above mentioned that the latter State would exercise the right of stoppage. There is every ground for hope that such a contingency will never arise, in view of the friendly relations which are expected to spring from the treaty which has now been concluded.

(Usual ending.)

II. *Letter, No.* 112, *from Sardar-i-Ala, the Afghan Foreign Minister, to the British Representative at Kabul.*

(After compliments.)

Regarding the purchase of arms and munitions which the Government of Afghanistan buys for the protection of its rights and welfare, from the Governments of the world (and) imports to its own territory from the ports of Great Britain and British India, in accordance with Article 6 of the treaty between the two great Governments, I, in order to show the sincere friendship which my Government has with your Government, promise that Afghanistan shall, from time to time before the importation of the arms and munitions at British ports, furnish detailed list of those to the British Minister accredited to the Court of my sacred and great Government, so that the British Government having known and acquainted itself with the list and the number of

imported articles should, in accordance with Article 6 of the treaty between the two Governments, afford the necessary facilities.

(Usual ending.)

Dated, 29th Aqrab A.H. 1300.

III. *Letter, No.* 111, *from Sardar-i-Ala, the Afghan Foreign Minister, to the British Representative at Kabul.*

(After compliments.)

As in Article 7 of the treaty (between) the two great Governments of Britain and Afghanistan, your Government has with great sincerity granted a discriminating exemption from Custom duties on the goods required by my Government and on the trade goods transported to Afghanistan through the ports of Great Britain and British India and has not imposed Customs on goods produced and manufactured in Afghanistan, I therefore also, in consideration of the friendship (between) the two Governments, write that my Government will not give the opportunity of establishing a Consul-General or Consul or representatives of the Russian Government at the positions and territories of Jelallabad, Ghaznee, and Kandahar, which are contiguous to the frontiers of India. If the Consulates or representatives of the Government of Russia are allowed in the parts mentioned, the Government of Afghanistan shall not have the above-mentioned right of exemption. Of course, the temporary association of the Russian Minister

with His Majesty's move to Jelallabad in winter will be an exception.

(Usual ending.)

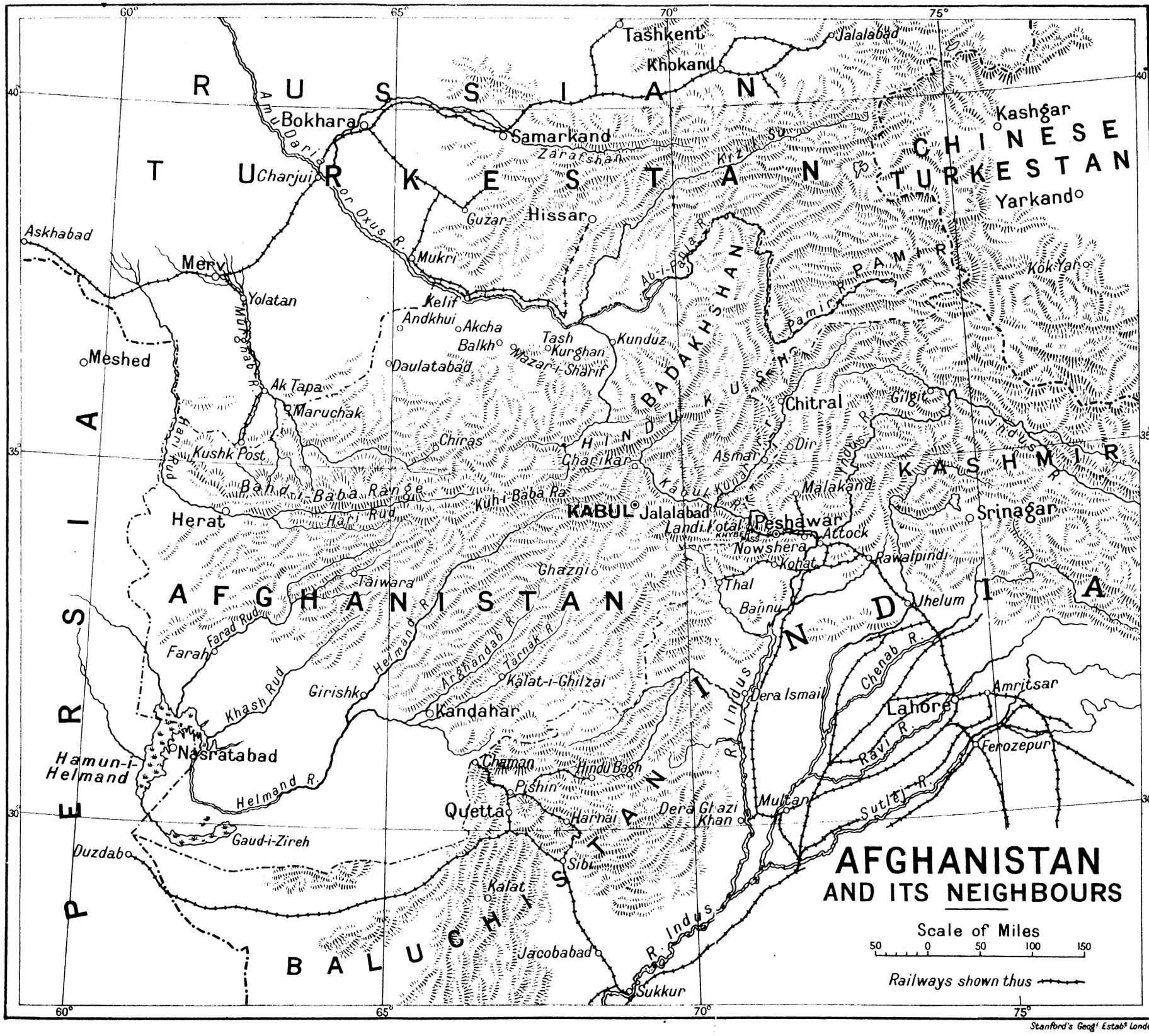
Dated, 30th Aqrab, A.H. 1300.

IV. *Letter from British Representative to Sardar-i-Ala, the Afghan Foreign Minister.*

(After compliments.)

As the conditions of the frontier tribes of the two Governments are of interest to the Government of Afghanistan, I inform you that the British Government entertains feelings of goodwill towards all the frontier tribes and has every intention of treating them generously, provided they abstain from outrages against the inhabitants of India. I hope that this letter will cause you satisfaction.

(Usual ending.)


AFGHANISTAN
AND ITS NEIGHBOURS
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150
Railways shown thus
Stanford's Geogl Estabt London.
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
CHINESE TURKESTAN
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
BALUCHISTAN
INDIA
KASHMIR
HINDU KUSH
BADAKHSHAN
PAMIR
KABUL
Tashkent
Khokand
Jalalabad
Samarkand
Bokhara
Kashgar
Yarkand
Charjui
Hissar
Guzar
Askhabad
Merv
Mukri
Yolatan
Kelif
Andkhui
Akcha
Balkh
Tash Kurghan
Kunduz
Meshed
Daulatabad
Mazar-i-Sharif
Ak Tapa
Maruchak
Chitral
Gilgit
Kushk Post
Chiras
Charikar
Asmar
Dir
Malakand
Herat
Band-i-Baba Range
Kuh-i-Baba Ra.
Jalalabad
Peshawar
Srinagar
Landi Kotal
Khyber Pass
Attock
Nowshera
Kohat
Rawalpindi
Ghazni
Taiwara
Thal
Bannu
Jhelum
Farah
Farad Rud
Helmand R.
Arghandab R.
Tarnak R.
Kalat-i-Ghilzai
Girishk
Khash Rud
Kandahar
Dera Ismail
Chenab R.
Amritsar
Lahore
Ravi R.
Ferozepur
Nasratabad
Hamun-i-Helmand
Chaman
Hindu Bagh
Pishin
Helmand R.
Quetta
Harnai
Dera Ghazi Khan
Multan
Sutlej R.
Gaud-i-Zireh
Duzdab
Sibi
Kalat
Jacobabad
Sukkur
Indus R.
60°
65°
70°
75°
40°
35°
30°